

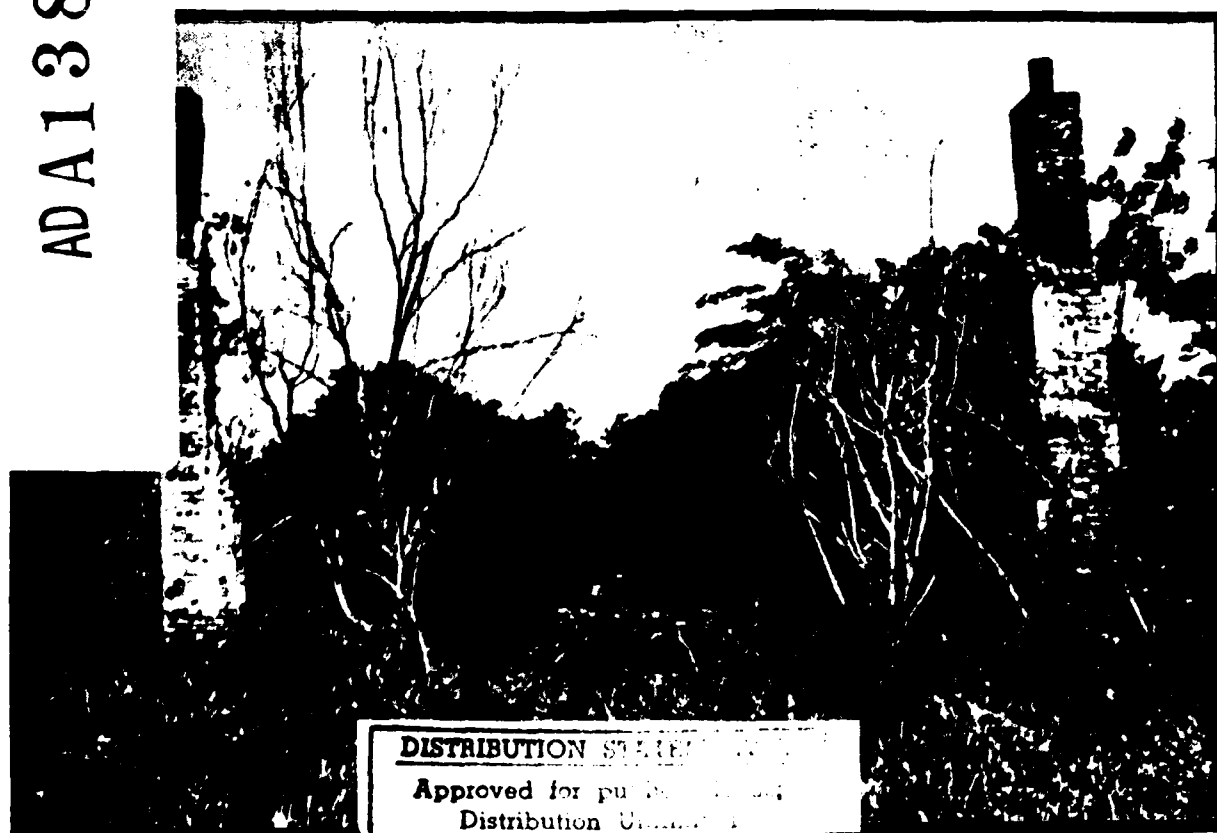
THE OLD HOME PLACE:

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
INVESTIGATION OF FIVE FARM SITES
ALONG THE SAVANNAH RIVER,
GEORGIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA

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MARLESA A. GRAY
WAPORA, INC.

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AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
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GEORGIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA

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TECHNICAL ABSTRACT

In conjunction with the development of the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake, Georgia and South Carolina, historical and archaeological investigations were conducted at five historic farm sites: the Clinkscates Site (38AB287), the Gray Site (9EB45), the Harper Site (38AB21), the McCalla I Site (38AB78), and the McCalla II Site (38AB67). The Gray site is located in Elbert County, Georgia; the others are located in Abbeville County, South Carolina. The four families who lived at these sites represent four separate socioeconomic classes: black small farmer, white small farmer, "average" white planter, and white large-scale planter. It was determined through intensive surveys of each site that a possible direct correlation exists between the socioeconomic status of the primary site occupants and the intra-site patterning observed at each site. Further research to determine socioeconomic status based upon the degree to which a site possesses patterning that is either nucleated or dispersed was proposed. In addition, excavations at three of the house sites (Clinkscates, Harper, and McCalla I) were used as the basis for an analysis of artifact patterning studies based on frequency variation. It was determined that a number of factors, both historical and archaeological, can ultimately affect the utility of artifact patterning studies. These factors include, among others, how a building was destroyed, whether salvage took place, the length of time since a site was created, how an archaeologist classifies artifacts, and how much of a site is excavated. For the results of artifact patterning studies to be considered valid, these factors must be controlled.

POPULAR ABSTRACT

In association with the development of the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake, Georgia and South Carolina, historical and archaeological studies were conducted at five historic farm sites: the Clinkscales Site (38AB287), the Gray Site (9EB45), the Harper Site (38AB21), the McCalla I Site (38AB78), and the McCalla II Site (38AB67). The Gray site, which was a black-owned small farm during the early twentieth century, is located in Elbert County, Georgia. The other sites are located in Abbeville County, South Carolina. The Clinkscales site is a relatively small, white-owned farm that was occupied from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. The Harper site was occupied from the early nineteenth century to the early 1960s. It was a typical southern plantation. The two McCalla sites were part of a large southern plantation that operated from the early nineteenth century to the mid-1960s. The study of these sites included historical research, interviews with local residents, and archaeological surveys and excavations. There were two purposes to this study: 1) to examine the differences in placement of buildings on a farm site depending on the wealth and status of the land-owners, and 2) to observe the relationships between the locations of artifacts in an excavation and the original use and appearance of the site. It was determined that further research is needed to fully evaluate the relationships between economic class and farm layout, but the initial results seem to indicate that there is a close tie between the two. The usefulness of artifact patterning studies was evaluated and found to be heavily dependent on the historical context of the site.

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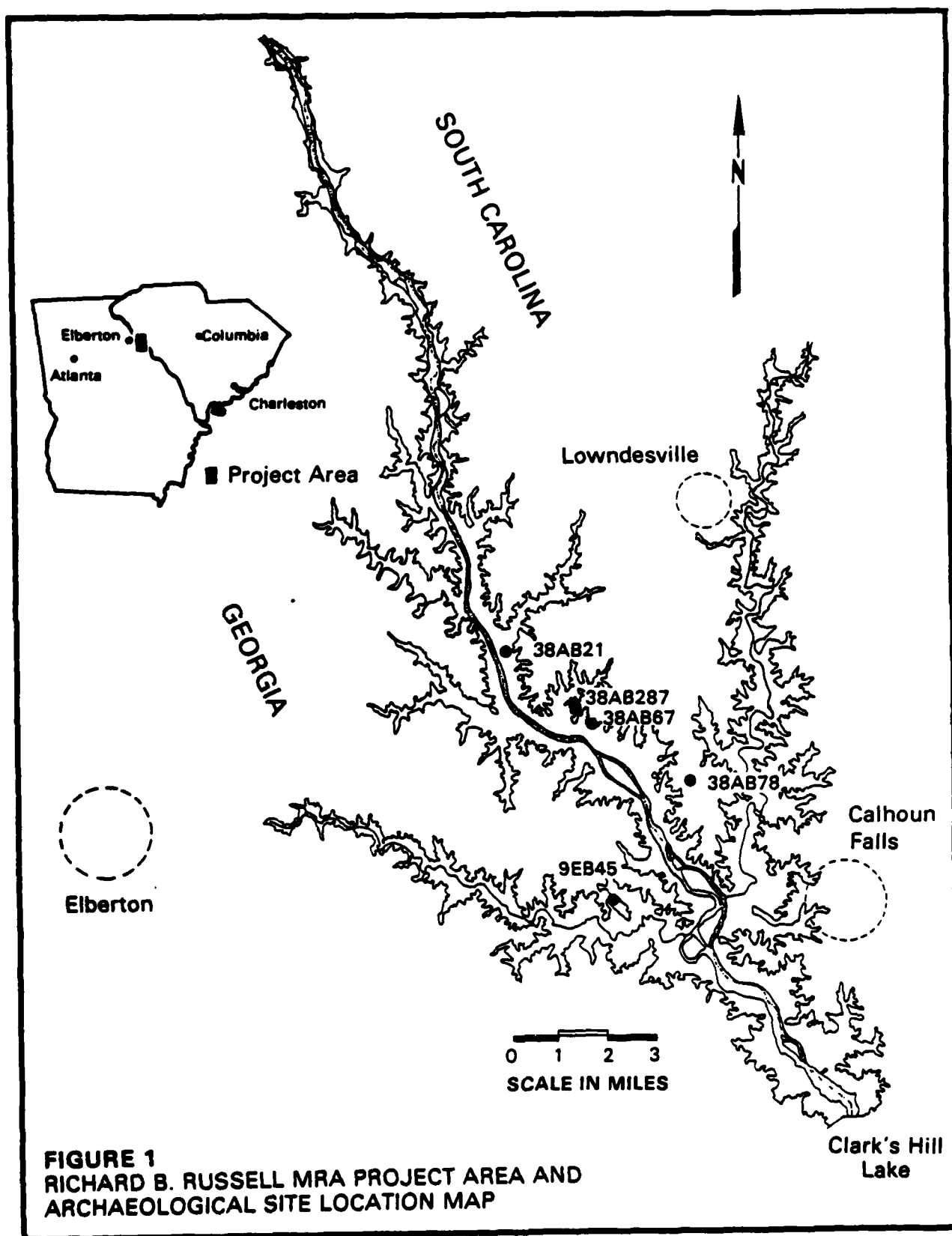
I. INTRODUCTION

This report details the results of an intensive survey and excavation project undertaken by WAPORA, Inc., Cincinnati, Ohio, at the request of the National Park Service, Division of Archeological Services, Atlanta, Georgia, for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District, under the terms of Contract Number CX-5000-1-4062. The project was designed to thoroughly investigate four historic farm sites (later expanded to five) located within the Richard B. Russell Multiple Resource Area (MRA), Georgia and South Carolina.

The Richard B. Russell MRA, the designation of which is a response to the construction of the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District, is located on the upper Savannah River between the Hartwell Dam to the north and the backwaters of the Clark's Hill Lake to the south. It includes lands in Anderson and Abbeville Counties, South Carolina, and Elbert and Hart Counties, Georgia. These lands border the Savannah River as well as its major tributaries: the Rocky River, Allen Creek, Bond Creek, and Crooked Creek in South Carolina; and Beaverdam, Vann, Coldwater, Pickens, and Cedar Creeks in Georgia. The total amount of land included in the project area is approximately 52,112 acres.

The sites investigated during this project are located in Abbeville County, South Carolina, and Elbert County, Georgia. All of the sites are associated with former agricultural tracts; they range in size from almost 144 acres to over 3,000 acres. The smallest site is the Gilbert Gray site (9EB45). Located near Beaverdam Creek in Elbert County, this was the farm of a black landowner during the first quarter of the twentieth century (Figure 1). Site 38AB287, the Clinkscales site, was a relatively small farm of 450 acres, owned by a white family of modest but not impoverished means, that was established in the 1850s and continued under control of the same family for the next hundred years. The Clinkscales house burned in 1977. The Harper site, 38AB21, can be considered to have been an "average-sized" plantation, of varying acreages ranging from 500 to 1,500. It was established sometime during the early nineteenth century and was maintained by the Harper family until the 1920s. The house burned in the mid-1960s. Finally, the McCalla plantation appears to have been one of the larger landholdings along this portion of the Savannah River. Originally established on 768 acres by John McCalla in 1833, successive generations of the family developed the landholding into a plantation of over 3,000 acres. It remained in the family until 1966. There are actually two sites on the McCalla plantation. The McCalla I site (38AB78) is the original home place of the family; it was occupied by members of the family until 1913. The McCalla II site (38AB67) was initially inhabited by members of the McCalla family in 1878, although it probably was occupied prior to that time. Members of the McCalla family continued to live at this site until 1972.

The impacts of the construction of the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake will differ for these sites. The Gilbert Gray site (9EB45) will be located in the Heardmont State Park. The Harper site (38AB21) will be



inundated by waters of the Savannah River. The other three sites (38AB287, 38AB67, and 38AB78) are slated to become a part of McCalla State Park.

The investigations conducted at the five historic sites in the Richard B. Russell MRA involved several procedures. These included an extensive literature search for information dealing with these specific sites; informal oral history interviews with local residents; and field investigations involving both intensive survey and excavation. The information collected during the literature search is detailed in Chapter IV; the results of the intensive surveys in Chapter V; and the results of the excavations at the house sites in Chapter VI.

II. RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROJECT METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

The investigations of the historic sites in the Richard B. Russell MRA were initially designed to be both practical and theoretical in scope. In their practical aspect, the investigations were designed to answer specific questions concerning the structural components; dates of construction and use; and specific locations, alignments, and the archaeological integrity of the cultural remains. Also included in this aspect was the precise measurement, photography, and recording of above-ground and exposed subsurface remains. This aspect of the research is recognized as an important purpose of an archaeological testing program that is conducted within a contractual framework to ensure adequate evaluation and mitigation of potentially significant cultural resources that may be adversely affected by a proposed Federal or state undertaking.

Another practical goal of these investigations was assisting in the development of a management plan for the remaining historic sites within the project area (J. Cobb, personal communication 1981). By providing information on these particular sites in terms of their archaeological integrity and their cultural research potential, this project will eventually aid in the development of a set of guidelines or standards by which other historic sites in the area can be judged.

A second overall goal of the proposed archaeological and historical research was to recover data consistent with the theoretical goals of archaeology. In order to obtain meaningful information from the documentary and field research, an overall research orientation had to be developed within the framework of which the project was to be conducted. However, despite the obviously necessary emphasis on the development of a research design to guide the project from its initiation to a successful conclusion, a degree of flexibility was maintained to account for and deal with the several unknowns that continued to arise throughout the course of the project. Thus, the research design that was initially proposed and the research design that was ultimately followed differ in several important respects.

The project scope of work originally asked that the archaeological investigations of these sites be centered around the main houses (Appendix B). It was believed that the Harper (38AB21) and Clinkscales (38AB287) outbuildings had been thoroughly located and mapped, and that no further work was required at these sites other than an investigation of the main houses. Emphasis was placed on the inference of function from artifact patterns and reconstruction of the houses using the archaeological remains. At the Gilbert Gray site (9EB45) and the McCalla site (38AB78), the investigations were to be expanded to include the outbuildings and features associated with the main houses, but again emphasis was to be placed on the houses themselves. The original proposal submitted by WAPORA, and its subsequent revisions, reflected this research bias, although other research questions, as will later be

discussed, were also proposed. However, very shortly after the project fieldwork started, it was realized by everyone concerned that the sites, especially the McCalla and the Harper sites, were much more extensive than had originally been believed. It was also understood that a traditional program of test excavations within structures was likely to yield less significant information than an alternative program of intensive survey, oral history, and thorough archival research. Therefore, it was agreed that a change in the scope of the project was both desirable and necessary. Emphasis was ultimately placed upon determining the spatial arrangements and layouts of each site as they reflected the socio-economic status of the site inhabitants. However, investigations of the houses themselves were not totally abandoned, as will be discussed shortly.

Part of the problem that was involved in this change of scope was the whole question of site definition. James Deetz (1967:11) has defined an archaeological site as "a spatial concentration of material evidence of human activity." However, in the same book, Invitation to Archaeology (1967:83-101), he also defined material culture as anything from an artifact to deliberate landscaping to language. In still another of his books, In Small Things Forgotten, Deetz (1977:32) has stated that "every house is part of a site that surrounds it, as is every public building, barn, or factory."

Obviously, the limits of an archaeological site are somewhat dependent upon the researcher's primary focus during the archaeological investigation. If the focus is upon the stratigraphic sequences of trash deposits in a well, then the well can be considered a site. If the emphasis is upon the spatial relationships of houses within an entire community, then the community is the site. However, site limits are also a function of the original context within which the site was created and used. Therefore, while an entire town can be considered a site both from an archaeological perspective and an historical perspective, the information potential of an excavated well will be limited by how much is known of the people who used the well as their trash dump.

During this project, it was recognized early on that the research potential of the house sites themselves was relatively limited when so much more could be learned about the site inhabitants, their lifestyles, their land use patterns, and their socioeconomic status by investigating the whole sites, or, in other words, the whole farms, rather than just the houses. Thus, the project scope was changed to include the investigation of each farm in its entirety. Of course, this created a new set of problems to deal with, the main one being that the time and cost limitations of the project remained relatively unchanged. However, it was agreed that much of this information could effectively be collected using a combination of intensive survey in selected areas and archival research.

Another problem was the change in the size of the "sites" under investigation. From originally looking at a main house and its associated outbuildings at four discrete sites, the project scope was changed to include the investigations of four sites ranging in size from almost 144 acres to over 3000 acres! The largest of these sites, the

McCalla site, was actually found to include two separate centers of habitation and farm administration: the McCalla I site (38AB78), which was the original McCalla house site and was inhabited by members of the McCalla family from at least 1836 until 1913, and the McCalla II site (38AB67), which was occupied by members of the McCalla family from 1879 until 1966, but was probably occupied even earlier than 1879 by the Speed family (see Chapter IV). Again it was obvious that contractual constraints would restrict the amount of intensive survey that could be conducted on 6000+ acres, but because of the types of sites that were being examined, it was not necessary to survey every acre of each farm. Since much of the acreage had always been devoted to agricultural purposes or was too marginal to be put to any use, the areas to be surveyed for evidence of habitation or farmstead activity were limited in number and size. This is not to say that all habitation and activity areas were located in the field, because additional historical research has shown that they were not, but through the combination of the field investigations, oral history accounts, and in-depth archival research, a fairly complete picture has emerged of the spatial organization, the land use patterns, and the lifestyles of the inhabitants of these sites.

In formulating the hypotheses to be tested during the investigation of these sites, two primary types of processes, or subjects of cultural theory, were considered. These two kinds of processes were referred to by Lewis Binford (1977:6) in his introduction to For Theory Building in Archaeology:

In my opinion, evolution refers to the processes responsible for changes and diversification in organization; it does not refer to the products of evolution and the patterning that we may observe in these products when they are viewed temporally or spatially. The products, including patterning, are what we must explain with evolutionary theory. Statistical summaries and probabilistic statements about the patterning do not explain; they simply describe.

Stanley South (1977:13-17) defines the two types of processes as:

- 1) those responsible for the formation of the archaeological record, and
- 2) those responsible for change and diversification in human lifeways.

A basic assumption to the analysis of these processes is that the archaeological record will exhibit particular patterns reflecting those in the cultural system that produced them and that the archaeological record will reflect temporal and spatial changes occurring in those patterns and in the system that can then be explained through evolutionary theory (Lewis 1976). In terms of the sites that were investigated during this project, two hypotheses, representing the two types of cultural processes discussed by Binford and South, were proposed. The first of these is concerned with the development of the archaeological record and is worded in the following manner:

Hypothesis 1 - The artifact patterning observed on historic house sites is non-random and culturally determined. Furthermore, the controlled excavation and artifactual analysis of historic house sites can provide information on both construction techniques and the functions of the rooms.

The test implications of this hypothesis are manifold and complex, but there are three, in particular, that will be addressed during these investigations. The first of these is that the controlled collection of information about the structural remains of these sites can shed light on both the architectural construction of these buildings and on their destruction. This test implication is important to our understanding of the archaeological process, since most archaeological reconstruction is based on the assumption that the patterning observed in the ground will reflect patterning that was originally inherent within the structure. However, this assumption has never been objectively tested on a widespread basis. Because of their recent nature and the possibility of using corroborative evidence like photographs, nineteenth and twentieth century historic sites provide a good vehicle for testing this hypothesis. For instance, archaeological investigations at the Sproull-Harrison house (38GN66) (J. Kellar, personal communication 1981) and at the Ninety-Six National Historic Site (Holschlag et al. 1978), both located in neighboring Greenwood County, South Carolina, have demonstrated that a careful analysis of structural remains, especially of the artifact patterning within the architectural artifact group, can result in the reconstruction of architectural remains and the identification of processes through which the structure was destroyed. These are only two sites, though, and it was believed when this hypothesis was proposed that further testing of the hypothesis is required before the assumption concerning architectural patterning can be considered valid.

A second test implication is closely related to the first, and has to do with determining the degree of salvage that has taken place at a site. During the excavations at the Sproull-Harrison house, which, as will be discussed shortly, was a recently created and nearly pristine site, the amount of architectural material that was collected, excluding obvious recent artifacts like wire nails, electrical wiring, fiberglass insulation, etc., was staggering! The number of cut nails, for instance, was in the tens of thousands. Yet, few archaeological sites dating to the nineteenth century or even earlier in the twentieth century exhibit that amount of nails. Of course, obvious processes contributing to this diminution in the amount of artifactual material on most sites are salvage operations, weathering, and natural decomposition (Michael Schiffer's [1976] C- and N- transforms), but the degree to which these processes have taken place must be determined before it can be assumed that the artifact patterning at a site is truly reflective of the original pattern of deposition. Unfortunately, on many sites, the degree to which these processes, especially salvage, have taken place cannot be determined because the sites were created so long ago that no living person remembers when the site was created. On recently created sites, however, the possibility exists that this variable may be controlled through the application of oral history research. If so, then much more credence can be given to the results of the first test implication.

The final test implication of this hypothesis is that the isolation of certain artifact classes into activity groups and the plotting of their distributions within the house sites will result in the identification of room functions and specialized activity areas used during the site's occupation. This type of analysis has formed the basis for a number of archaeological projects on historic sites in recent years (Lewis 1976; South 1977; Benson 1978; Drucker et al. 1979). Of primary concern is the comparison of the results of this analysis on the sites under investigation in this project with South's (1977:83-164) Carolina Artifact Pattern in order to further define and delimit the validity of his methodological approach.

An example of archaeological research from neighboring Greenwood County can serve to define these test implications and the various controls acting upon them.

The Sproull-Harrison house (38GN66) was built in the 1830s as the home of a wealthy South Carolina Piedmont planter. The plantation included the main house, a summer kitchen, barns, other outbuildings, slave quarters, and an associated family cemetery. The landscape around the house included terraced gardens and orchards. In 1978, Michael J. Rodeffer, conducting a cultural resources survey of Greenwood County, photographed the house and informally interviewed its owners, the Harrisons. Several weeks later, the frame house was struck by lightning and burned to the ground, leaving only the foundations, the two gable-end chimneys, and the porch columns intact. Because of their instability, the two chimneys were pushed over into the interior of the ruin. Other than this, there was no additional disturbance to the site. During the fire, the Harrisons and their friends managed to remove most of the movable furniture, the good china, and other valuables from the downstairs portion of the house. The kitchen appliances, most of the everyday kitchenware, and all of the upstairs furnishings and personal belongings were lost to the blaze.

Several weeks after the fire, the Harrisons agreed to allow some archaeological testing to be done on the site. The excavation crew was made up of various volunteers, but had as its core Ms. Jana Kellar, then an intern at Interagency Archeological Services-Atlanta (IAS-A); Michael J. Rodeffer, Greenwood County Archaeological Survey; Stephanie H. Rodeffer, Staff Archaeologist at IAS-A; and the writer, also at that time an intern at IAS-A. Through the course of a couple of months, this group spent every weekend working at the Sproull-Harrison house site.

The excavations were undertaken with a specific purpose in mind: to test the validity of Stanley South's artifact patterning approach on a site that had just been created and had received minimal disturbance. The testing methodology was designed to gain a cross-section of information from the site that could be used to test South's hypothesis concerning the artifact patterns characteristic of South Carolina residential sites and Lewis' hypotheses concerning identifiable activity areas. However, the project was constrained by both temporal and personnel restrictions, thereby necessitating a testing methodology that was both cost- and time-efficient. It was determined that two trenches would be excavated across the structural remains, one across the width

of the house and one across its length. The trenches were extended past the exterior of the structural remains to collect any artifactual or feature information that might have been present on the outside of the structure. Figure 2 shows the alignment of the test trenches. The trench across the width of the house was placed off-center to collect information from living areas of the house. Had the trench been placed along the short axis of the house, only information from the central hallway would have been gathered. The placement of the short trench was also designed to cover both the original portion of the house and a later addition. The long trench was placed in such a manner to retrieve information from the original rooms of the house, including the hallway.

The testing was hampered by the presence of great quantities of melted fiberglass insulation, the two chimney falls, and the still-present kitchen appliances. Because of these impediments and the previously mentioned time constraints, the entire testing program was not completed. However, the findings of the tests that were completed, supported by detailed descriptions of the house plan, storage capacities, and placement of furnishings provided by the Harrisons, tended to support the assumption that artifacts will be found, if a site has not been salvaged or otherwise altered, in patterns of organization that are similar to those that were present prior to creation of a burned site (see Chapter VIII). However, the excavations at the Sproull-Harrison house still did not test the validity of these assumptions when applied to a site where known salvage has taken place or where the degree of salvage is unknown. This is what has been attempted during this project.

The second hypothesis proposed for this project was centered around the identification and explanation of cultural differences in the archaeological and historical record. More specifically, it was proposed that social and economic differences between these sites can be interpreted through an examination of the intra-site patterning at each site. The hypothesis that was originally proposed was aimed at determining chronological differences between the sites and explaining intra-site patterning on the basis of changes in the culture through time. Later, as the scope of the project was changed to more effectively pursue the information potential of these sites, and as it was understood that each of the sites has had a long and complex history, the hypothesis was changed to more accurately reflect the nature of the information available for the sites. It was realized that trying to complete the project by testing the original hypothesis would have been similar to the classic case of comparing oranges and apples. Therefore, the hypothesis was ultimately worded in the following manner:

Hypothesis 2 - The agricultural South has never been characterized by either the total presence of wealthy planters owning vast amounts of property or by a dichotomy between wealthy landowners and landless agricultural laborers. Rather, a full range of social and economic classes has been an inherent part of southern agricultural history. These differences in social and economic status can be observed archaeologically through an analysis and comparison of intra-site spatial patterning between sites.

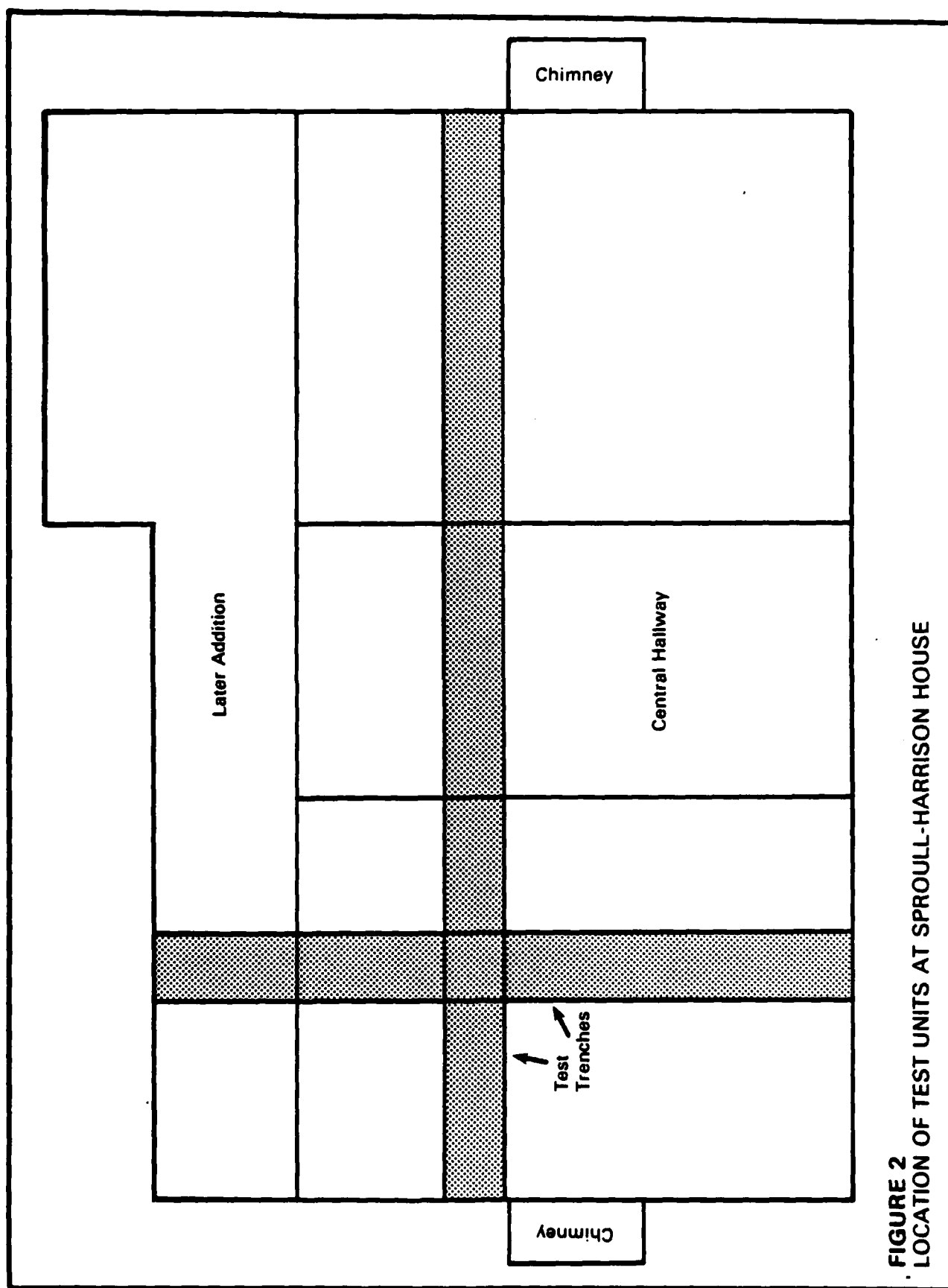


FIGURE 2
LOCATION OF TEST UNITS AT SPROULL-HARRISON HOUSE

The relative social and economic status of the primary inhabitants of the sites under investigation is known from historical and archival research. By comparing the spatial organization of the sites, as determined from archaeological, archival, and oral historical sources, it should be possible to test this hypothesis. If the hypothesis is correct, then differences in spatial organization should reflect social and economic differences as well. One test implication to consider is the effect of differing labor and land use patterns on the spatial organization of a site. Before the hypothesis can be tested, the types of land use and labor patterns that can affect the spatial patterning of a site must be understood. Since these patterns are fairly well known, as will be discussed in Chapter VI, it should be possible to test this hypothesis with the information available for these sites.

PROJECT METHODOLOGY AND TECHNIQUES

HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND ORAL HISTORY

The discipline of historical archaeology is blessed (or cursed, depending upon one's viewpoint) with a data base vastly expanded over that available to prehistoric archaeologists. Not only can the historical archaeologist investigate the same sources of information that a prehistorian uses, but there is also a whole range of additional sources available for investigation. These range from the written record to pictorial representations to the spoken word. Table 1 shows the various types of information that are available to the historical archaeologist.

Even though much discussion is centered around the problem of the incompleteness of the historical record, it is a source of information that can serve to define the types of research questions required by a particular project. A relatively complete historical record does not mean that less emphasis is placed on the results of the archaeological investigations, but rather that different kinds of questions can be asked of the archaeological data. The important thing to remember about historical information and archaeological data is that they are different, but complementary, sources of information. Each must be analyzed for its own research value and integrity, and an attempt must be made to combine the results of both the historical research and the archaeological investigations into an integrated whole.

The historical research for this project was conducted prior to, during, and after the archaeological fieldwork. Some aspects of the historical research were particularly rewarding, while other aspects are noted primarily by their absence. Background information on the environment and history of the project area was first collected from several reports that have been prepared on various cultural resources investigations in the area. These include the reports on the intensive survey of the project area (Taylor and Smith 1978), the historical background research (The History Group 1981), the historic structures survey (HABS n.d.), and the specific investigations at the Millwood Plantation (Orser et al. 1981) and at the Allen Plantation and Thomas Clinkscales Farm sites (Drucker et al. 1981).

Table 1. Types of Written, Oral, and Other Information.

	INTENTIONAL	UNPREMEDITATED
WRITTEN	chronicles annals diaries newspapers	biographies genealogies literature private letters laws business and tax records church records probate inventories military records
ORAL	myths anecdotes phonographic recordings popular ballads	tape recordings "tales"
OTHER	portraits historical paintings and prints photographs, film inscriptions cartographic sources	archaeologically- recovered materials architecture

Major sources of primary and secondary information were the South Carolina Department of Archives and History and the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, both located in Columbia, and the Georgia Department of Archives and History, in Atlanta. Pertinent records that were available at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History were population census records for Abbeville County from 1790 to 1880 and for 1900; slave schedules for the period between 1790 and 1860; and agricultural census records for 1850 to 1880. Also available were 1856 and 1865 tax records for Abbeville County; the military and legislative records for Major Henry H.B. Harper; a state plat for John McCalla; an 1836 road improvements petition showing the location of John McCalla's house; several other maps of the project area dating to different periods; and probate information dating prior to 1880. At the South Caroliniana Library were found two genealogies of the Clinkscales family by different authors. One of these authors, Mr. Henry A. Cook, later served as an excellent oral history informant. The Georgia Department of Archives and History was used primarily for information on Gilbert Gray. Here was found population census data for Gilbert Gray from the years 1870, 1880, and 1900; an 1880 agricultural census return for Gray; tax returns from 1903 to 1921; an Elbert County deed describing Gray's ownership of the site; and several maps of the project area. Also listed at the Georgia archives is a collection known as the "McCalla family papers," but these proved to be of little value in the understanding of the McCalla sites.

Extremely useful information was also collected from the Abbeville County Courthouse and the Abbeville County Library. The probate records for Abbeville County are very well organized and proved to be a valuable source of data for the Harper, Clinkscales, and McCalla families. The Abbeville County Clerk's office has deeds and plats dating from 1880. These were helpful in charting the land transactions that occurred during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Unfortunately, the tax records for Abbeville County are not so well organized. Unlike the Georgia Department of Archives, where Elbert County tax records have been placed on microfilm, the Abbeville County tax records are currently being stored in a haphazard fashion with other unused records in a loft at the courthouse. It was very difficult to find a good representative sample of record books from which to collect the needed information. Although the tax records for the county are supposed to date back to around 1890, the earliest record book that was found dated to 1913.

At the Abbeville County Library were located a few secondary sources about the history of the county that provided some additional information on the families being studied. Of most help was J. Greg Carroll's Abbeville County Family History, published in 1979, and Jenness R. Reyes' Jane Harris of Rocky River: She Linked the Carolinas (1964). The latter proved that Jane Harris Harper was not related to the Reverend John Harris nor to any of his kin, as has been postulated elsewhere (HABS n.d.). Also of value at the Abbeville County Library are microfilms of the Abbeville Press and Banner. These newspaper records were useful in tracing the events surrounding the Harper's Ferry tragedy in 1920, and in reading the obituaries of certain members of the Harper, Clinkscales, and McCalla families. However, time prevented a thorough search of the newspapers that may have led to an increased understanding of the economic and social status of the families under investigation.

Finally, the Soil Conservation Service in Abbeville County provided aerial photographs of the Harper, Clinkscales, and McCalla II sites that have aided greatly in the determination of spatial patterning at these three sites, and a soil survey of the county. A soil survey was also obtained for Elbert County, but no aerial was available for the Gray site. The Corps of Engineers has been the source of several useful documents, especially pertaining to the Harper's Ferry tragedy and to land transactions associated with the sites. The Corps also has in its possession several photographs of the Harper house before it burned. No information on Gilbert Gray and his occupancy of Site 9EB45 was available from the Elbert County Courthouse that had not already been collected at the Georgia Department of Archives and History. According to the probate records for the county, Gilbert Gray never existed.

During the project, emphasis was also placed on talking with local residents who had information about the sites under investigation. Most of the interviews were informal and conducted on-site. As much as possible, more than one person was interviewed for each site so that a cross-check could be performed on the reliability of each informant. The information that was collected for each site differed, depending upon the informants' familiarity with the site, but precedence was placed upon collecting data concerning the spatial organization of the sites,

the functions and dates of structures, the dates of occupation and the list of occupants at each site, how the sites were destroyed, the salvage practices that took place at the sites, and anecdotes concerning the people who lived at the sites. The oral history served to fill in many gaps in the archaeological and historical record, and also served to bring many of the occupants of the sites to life. However, it was limited by time and budget constraints, and was not as extensive as had originally been hoped.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

As has been stated previously, the original intent of the project was to archaeologically investigate the main houses at each site in an intensive manner, and to place test units at some of the outbuildings for functional and temporal information. However, very shortly into the fieldwork, it was realized that other methods would be needed to fully evaluate the sites within the limitations of the contract. Therefore, with the assistance of Department of the Interior and Corps of Engineers personnel, a new methodology was conceived that resulted in the collection of a greater amount of useful information within a short period of time.

Basically, the fieldwork was divided into two discrete components: the archaeological investigation of the intact main house sites for information on artifact patterning and functional variation within a site, and the intensive survey of the outlying areas of each site for information on spatial organization and land use patterns. Emphasis during the survey of each site was placed both upon the identification of outbuildings directly associated with the main house complex and, as much as possible, the location of dispersed occupation and activity areas in other parts of the site. While the survey was not complete by any means, it is believed that a majority of the occupation areas at each site was located.

The investigation of the main houses proceeded in the following manner. First, it was determined whether or not the main house site had been substantially disturbed, as this would affect the quality of the archaeological information that was recovered. It was found that the Gray site (9EB45) had been very badly disturbed by logging, and that the house that had occupied the McCalla II site (38AB67) had been totally removed from its foundation and transported to another location. Therefore, these two house sites were removed from archaeological consideration. The remaining three house sites (38AB21, 38AB78, and 38AB287) were subjected to controlled archaeological testing.

The purpose of these investigations was to provide a data base comparable to that collected from the Sproull-Harrison house (38GN66). To do this, similar techniques were employed at each site. A trench measuring three feet wide and divided into three-foot units was plotted across one axis of each house so that the ends of the trench extended, if possible, beyond the exterior walls of the house by one to three feet. This was done to determine differences in artifact densities and

percentages between the interior of the house and the exterior of the house. The division of the trench into three-foot units was deemed sufficient to provide a tight control over changes in artifact frequencies across each house. These differences in artifact frequencies were then to be analyzed in light of possibly revealing information on room sizes and functions, and the locations of specific activity areas within each house.

Each house trench was tied into the master grid for the site. Excavation of the house trenches took place in four-inch arbitrary levels unless natural stratigraphy was present. Within natural levels, four-inch arbitrary levels were used if necessary. Also within levels, identified functional areas and features were removed as discrete units. Each level was excavated, using shovels and/or trowels, across the entire trench before proceeding to the next level so that differences in soil composition and relationships between features could be noted. Once a level was totally excavated, the floor of the trench was cleaned, photographed, and mapped. Artifacts recovered during the excavation were bagged according to their unit, level, and, if appropriate, feature designations. When a trench had been completely excavated to the culturally sterile clay subsoil, the entire profile of the trench was cleaned and mapped.

Unless such action was inappropriate, excavated material was screened through one-quarter-inch mesh screen. Material that was not screened included masonry rubble and surface trash deposits that had no relation to the last known occupation of any of the sites. Because of their size or the amount of material that was present, certain artifacts or artifact classes were either not collected or were only sampled. Artifacts whose presence was noted but were not collected included roofing materials, masonry rubble, appliances, and other large artifacts.

As the excavation of the house trenches was being conducted by a portion of the WAPORA field crew, the remainder of the field crew was employed in the intensive survey of the sites. Each survey was begun by establishing a base map for the site. In some instances, already prepared maps, such as the HABS map of the Harper site (38AB21), COE topographic maps, and USDA aerial photographs, were used as the base. In other cases, a base map had to be completely drawn. All maps were drawn to scale and included standing structures, all observable structural remains, landscape and major environmental features, roads, fences, terracing, cemetery boundaries, etc. The locations of any identifiable ornaments were plotted, as were the locations of the surface collection grids, all test units, the house trenches, and any unverified feature or structure locations identified during the historical and oral history research. Each map was tied into the cardinal directions. Most feature and structure locations were plotted onto the base map by transit readings, but some of the more remote concentrations of human activity were plotted on the base map by triangulation.

A control grid for each of the residential complexes was set up on 50-foot intervals. A controlled surface collection of artifacts was made for areas within the sites where the lack of ground cover made surface examination feasible. This was possible to the greatest degree

at the Harper site and at the Clinkscales site. At the Gilbert Gray and McCalla I sites, surface collection procedures were more informal and were tied into the nearest structure. No surface collection was made at the McCalla II site. A metal detector survey was used with some success at the McCalla I site and at the Gilbert Gray site to locate "hot spots" of metal concentrations, indicating possible locations of structures or activity areas. Other techniques that were used to supplement the visual survey were the use of a one-quarter-inch diameter steel probe to trace the outlines of features and structures and a four-inch diameter, hand-turned bucket auger to test wells and privies.

Initially it was proposed that test units be placed in certain of the located features and structures to aid in the determination of function and temporal range. However, it was soon discovered that the test units were not producing much in the way of significant information, and were essentially a waste of valuable time. Therefore, the excavation of test units was abandoned after eight units were completed at the Harper site and four units were excavated at the Clinkscales site. Most of the test units measured five feet square and were excavated in a manner similar to that described for the house trenches. After the use of test units was abandoned, shovel cuts were used in the determination of structure locations and size, some functional information, and in the collection of artifactual material associated with the structures.

LABORATORY PROCEDURES

Upon the return of the field crew to WAPORA's permanent laboratory in Cincinnati, Ohio, all artifacts were cleaned, sorted, cataloged, labelled, and rebagged. To ensure that no artifacts were lost during transit, a bag list was prepared in the field whereby each bag was given its own field specimen number. This was recorded both on the bag and on a master list. Then, in the laboratory, the bag numbers were checked off on the master list as the contents of each bag were cleaned and cataloged.

The cataloging system that was used is that of the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina. Artifacts were cataloged according to provenience and artifact classification. The catalog numbers were recorded both on the catalog forms and on the artifacts or the artifact bags. Not all artifacts were individually labelled; those that were included unburnt ceramics, identifiable glass, and worked lithics (from the prehistoric components at several of the sites). Artifacts that were given catalog designations by lot included nails (by length and type), corroded nails and nail fragments, brick fragments, metal objects (by type), burnt ceramics, melted glass (by color), mortar, charcoal, and lithic flakes. State site forms, standard artifact inventories, artifact analysis forms, and final maps were all completed during the duration of the laboratory processing. Copies of all forms, and originals of field notes, research notes, and photographic materials will be kept on file at the WAPORA office in Cincinnati.

III. ENVIRONMENT, GEOGRAPHY, AND CULTURE

The Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake project area, by virtue of the numerous cultural resources investigations undertaken within its borders, has been subjected to several analyses of its environment and geography, both past and present. By far the most comprehensive and detailed of these analyses has been the environmental description included in the report on the intensive survey of the entire project area, prepared by the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology (Taylor and Smith 1978:1-72). Because this current project is concerned primarily with the investigation of the historic sites inhabited by four families and their development through time, emphasis is placed upon the changes that have taken place in the environment and geography of the project area during the past 200 years. Persons wishing information on the paleo-environment of the area and the changes that occurred during the transition from the prehistoric to the historic periods are referred to the Taylor and Smith (1978) report.

The entire Richard B. Russell project area is included within the Piedmont physiographic province. This province is defined by rolling hills that lack sharp breaks between the hilltops, the slopes, and the valleys (Fenneman 1938:131). All of the actual house sites are located on what has been termed the inter-riverine zone of the Piedmont (House and Ballenger 1976), although the Harper site (38AB21) is situated very close to the transitional area between the inter-riverine zone and the riverine zone. The inter-riverine zone is characterized by highly dissected, broad, flat ridgetops. The riverine zone, on the other hand, consists of rivers with their associated alluvial landforms (floodplains, terraces, knolls, etc.). It should be noted that although the house sites are themselves located within the inter-riverine zone, the lands included with each of these house sites comprise parts of both the riverine zone and the inter-riverine zone. The Harper (38AB21) and Clinkscales (38AB287) sites include alluvial landforms associated with the Savannah River; the McCalla sites (38AB67, 38AB78) include both the Savannah River and the Rocky River alluvial landforms; and the Gilbert Gray site (9EB45) encompasses a small portion of the riverine zone associated with Beaverdam Creek. In addition to the Savannah River, the Harper site also includes a portion of what was known as Ross' Creek (now Allen Creek).

The mean elevation of the project area is around 500 feet above mean sea level (msl), and elevation ranges from 391 to 770 feet msl. Elevations of the historic house sites all range around 500 feet msl, with the lowest elevation occurring at the Harper site and the highest at the McCalla II site. The drainage at all of the house sites is good.

The climate of the project area is considered to be temperate. The summers are long and hot, and the winters are cool and relatively short. The average winter temperature is 44°F, with an average minimum of 33°F. The average summer temperature is 78°F, with an average daily maximum of 89.2°F. The growing season ranges from around 200 to 250 frost-free days. Precipitation is relatively evenly distributed throughout the year with roughly half of the average 46 inches falling

during the growing season. When one examines the average monthly rainfall during the growing season, however, it can be observed that the average amount of rainfall increases over the period from spring to mid-summer, then decreases dramatically during the harvesting season (Frost 1979:1-2, 64-65; Herren 1980:2, 54-55).

These facts concerning the climate of the project area are important when one examines the rise of cotton monoculture in the project area during the nineteenth century. The climatic requirements for the successful production of cotton are a growing season of 200 to 210 frostless days, and between 20 and 25 inches of rainfall during the growing season. Moreover, the water needs of cotton plants vary throughout the season: too much rain in the spring will create a shallow root system that is unable to support the mature plants, and too much rain at harvest time will disrupt the picking and will knock some of the fruit off the plants. Therefore, the ideal growing season will be drier in the spring, with more precipitation during the height of the season, and much less rainfall again at harvest time (Wright 1978:14-15). Thus, it appears that the climatic conditions of the project area were ideally suited for the development of cotton monoculture without any recourse to irrigation or other farming improvements.

Of major interest to the study of the historic occupancy of these sites are the relationships between the physiographic characteristics of the area and historic land use patterns. These patterns have been influenced by the regional physiography, and, vice versa, have left their mark on the historic and contemporary landscape. Of primary importance are the relationships between soil type and agricultural practices in the area. All of the sites under investigation here are agricultural sites. As with much of the Piedmont province, both the rise and the decline of agriculture in the area, especially cotton monoculture, must be viewed in light of the soil composition of the area.

When the first settlers arrived in the project area during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, their agricultural practices were characterized by diversified crop productions accomplished on a relatively small scale. Cultivated crops included various sorts of grains, hemp, fruit and nut trees, and several kinds of animals that were raised both on cultivated crops and on permanent meadows. With the invention of the improved cotton gin during the late eighteenth century, the production of cotton became increasingly important to the economy of the area. Supported by the rise of institutionalized slavery and climatically well suited to the Piedmont province, cotton became the primary cash crop of the area by the 1830s. It continued to play a dominant role in the agricultural focus of the project area, and indeed of the entire Piedmont province, until the 1930s. During the late antebellum period, however, the production of cotton supported the institution of slavery, rather than the other way around (Hammond 1897:87).

The soils of the Piedmont were not the best for the production of cotton (the black belt of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Mississippi is the best), but they were good. However, because of the rigid relationship between cotton production and slavery, Piedmont planters found it impractical to practice diversified crop rotation or land conservation.

Also, there was a low demand for agricultural land in the South by immigrants because of the cotton/slavery stranglehold in the area. Therefore, the price of land was low. As a result, an "exhaustive system of agriculture" was developed in the southern Piedmont. A tract of land would be cleared and cultivated until it was exhausted of any potential, then new fields would be cleared and used the same way. This resulted in lower land values and lower percentages of improved acres at any one time than in northern agricultural states (Tang 1958:32-33). It also resulted in the loss of topsoil and even subsoil through both air and water erosion. Both the Taylor and Smith (1978:12) report and The History Group (1981:125) report include photographs showing the severe degree of soil erosion that is still present in the project area.

Part of the reason that the agricultural practices associated with cotton monoculture were so destructive to the land in the project area, and elsewhere in the Piedmont, is that several of the soil types present in the project area are, by their nature, extremely susceptible to erosion. Those soil types possessing the highest potential for severe erosion hazard are Pacolet, Wilkes, Enon, Cataula, Davidson, Madison, Hiwassee, and Mecklenburg. Other soils possessing a moderate potential for erosion hazard are Cecil and Iredell. All of these soil types are present on the sites under investigation in this report.

Because the focus of this project is on the lands associated with these historic sites, as well as the actual house sites themselves, it is necessary to look at all of the soils associated with these sites. In this way, the land use patterns at each site can be studied in relationship to the physiographic constraints of each site. To do this most effectively, tables have been used to show the relationships between particular soil types and types of landforms (Table 2) and between soil types and their presence at the sites under investigation (Table 3). These tables are accompanied by the following text that describes the major soil types of the area, including their potential for specific land uses and their relative susceptibility to erosion. This information is taken from Frost (1979:12-27) and Herren (1980:5-22).

Buncombe sand ranges in slope from 0 to 4 percent. It is deep, excessively drained, and found along major streams. It has a very low potential for cultivation because of flooding and its excessive drainage. There is no potential for erosion. Chewacla loam, also found in the bottoms of major streams, is deep, poorly drained, and nearly level. It has medium potential for row crops and small grains, and high potential for pasture, hay, and vegetables. Again, its potential is limited by occasional flooding and poor drainage. It is not susceptible to erosion. Toccoa sandy loam is deep, nearly level, and well drained. It occurs in floodplains, and has low potential for row crops and small grains because of flooding. Its potential for hay and pasture, however, is high. There is no erosion hazard to this soil type. Helena sandy loam, found on saddles and slopes between drainages, has little slope, is deep, and moderately well drained. Potential for cultivation is medium and pasture is high. Erosion hazard is moderate.

Cataula sandy loams range in slope from 2 to 10 percent. These soils are deep and well drained, with a clay subsoil. They are under-

Table 2. Relationships between Selected Soil Types and Physiographic Features.

	<u>Flood- plains</u>	<u>Terraces</u>	<u>Narrow Ridge- tops</u>	<u>Broad Ridge- tops</u>	<u>Slopes and Gullies</u>
Buncombe sand	X				
Cataula sandy loams			X		
Cecil sandy loam		X	X	X	
Chewacla loam	X				
Davidson loam				X	
Enon sandy loam			X		X
Helena sandy loam		X			
Hiwassee sandy loam			X		X
Iredell fine sandy loam				X	
Madison sandy loams			X		X
Mecklenburg sandy loam			X	X	X
Pacolet loams					X
Toccoa sandy loam	X				
Wilkes sandy loam					X

Table 3. Soil Types Present at the Historic Sites.

	<u>Harper (38AB21)</u>	<u>Clinkscates (38AB287)</u>	<u>McCalla I (38AB78)</u>	<u>McCalla II (38AB67)</u>	<u>Gray (9EB45)</u>
Buncombe sand		X		X	
Cataula sandy loams	X	X	X		
Cecil sandy loam	X			X	X
Chewacla loam		X		X	
Davidson loam					X
Enon sandy loam				X	X
Helena sandy loam		X			
Hiwassee sandy loam			X		
Iredell fine sandy loam				X	X
Madison sandy loams					X
Mecklenburg sandy loam	X			X	X
Pacolet loams	X	X	X	X	X
Toccoa sandy loam	X	X	X		X
Wilkes sandy loam		X	X	X	X

lain by a fragipan at 20 to 58 inches below surface. These soils are found on narrow ridgetops. Depending upon the degree of slope, the potential for cultivation of row crops and small grains is low to medium. It is restricted by the presence of the fragipan. The potential for hay and pasture, however, is medium to high. Erosion is a severe to very severe hazard. Enon sandy loam ranges in slope from 2 to 25 percent. It occurs on ridgetops, slopes, and valleys. It is deep and well drained. The degree of slope determines the potential for cultivation, ranging from very low to high. Erosion can be moderately to very severe. Hiwassee sandy loam is also deep, well drained, and found on ridgetops and slopes. Its degree of slope ranges from 2 to 15 percent. Again the degree of slope determines the potential for cultivation, ranging from low to high. Erosion can be a moderate to very severe hazard. Mecklenburg sandy loam is deep over weathered bedrock. It ranges in slope from 2 to 15 percent, and is well drained. It occurs on broad to narrow ridgetops and slopes. The potential for cultivation ranges from low to high, and erosion hazard ranges from moderate to very severe. Madison sandy loam and sandy clay loam occur on narrow ridgetops and side slopes. These soils are deep and well drained, and their slopes range from 2 to 25 percent. The potential for cultivation is related both to the degree of slope and the amount of clay in the soil composition. Cultivation potential ranges from low to high, and erosion hazard ranges from moderate to very severe.

Pacolet sandy loam occurs on slopes of 15 to 40 percent, and Pacolet clay loam on slopes of 10 to 25 percent. Both are moderately deep over weathered bedrock. They are well drained, and are found on steep slopes and in gullies. These soils have a very low potential for cultivation, and the erosion hazard is very severe. Wilkes sandy loam ranges from 6 to 40 percent in slope. This soil is shallow over weathered bedrock. This soil is also well drained and occurs on steep slopes and in intermittent stream gullies. The potential for cultivation is very low and the erosion hazard is severe to very severe.

Cecil sandy loam ranges in slope from 2 to 15 percent. It is deep, well drained, and is found on narrow to broad ridgetops. The degree of slope determines the potential for cultivation, but on broad ridgetops this potential is very high. Cecil soils, in fact, are some of the most productive in the area. The erosion hazard ranges from moderate to very severe, depending upon the slope. Davidson loam ranges in slope from 2 to 10 percent. It is deep and well drained, and is found on medium to broad ridgetops. Its potential for cultivation is also high, but erosion can be moderate to severe. Finally, Iredell fine sandy loam has a slope of only 2 to 6 percent. It is moderately deep over weathered bedrock, moderately to poorly drained, and occurs only on broad ridges. This soil has medium potential for most row crops and small grains because of its clayey subsoil and poor drainage. However, its potential for cotton, hay, and pasture is high. Erosion hazard on Iredell soils is only moderate.

From the descriptions of the soil types, and the information summarized in Tables 2 and 3, it can be observed that the McCalla II site (38AB67) probably had the highest potential for cultivation, especially of cotton. This is obviously reflected in the relatively high economic

status of the former residents of this site (see Chapter IV). The Harper (38AB21), Clinkscales (38AB287), and McCalla I (38AB78) sites all have soils that are primarily low to moderate in terms of their potential for successful cultivation, but nevertheless have a high to very high potential for erosion hazard. This is borne out by the fact that the greatest amount of erosion has indeed occurred at these three sites, especially at the McCalla I site. The most interesting observation from Table 3 is that the site with the greatest variety of soil types is also the smallest site under investigation, the Gilbert Gray site (9EB45). However, Gray did not have very much of any one kind of soil, and may have practiced a more diversified type of crop production.

Despite the fact that none of these sites, except the McCalla II site, possesses any great amount of soil considered to have high potential for cultivation, the amount of land placed under cultivation at the nineteenth century sites increased tremendously during Reconstruction and after the turn of the twentieth century. Most of this cultivation was in the form of cotton and corn production. In fact, lands considered to be totally unsuitable for farming were cleared and planted during this period. Oral history accounts abound with stories about the amount of land under cultivation during this time. Henry Cook (personal communication 1982) reported that, at one time, he could sit on the front porch of the Clinkscales' house and see the McCalla II house. Bandon Hutchison (personal communication 1981) has also claimed that he used to be able to see the Clinkscales place from his house.

There are several reasons why this increase in the amount of land under cultivation seems to have taken place during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. First of all, the introduction and rise in popularity of commercial fertilizers after the Civil War allowed the cultivation of cotton and other crops on lands that had previously been "exhausted" as well as on marginal lands that would not originally have been able to support staple production (Tang 1958:35). Also, the switch to sharecropping and tenancy during Reconstruction forced farmers to produce as much cotton as they could on usually marginal lands. This occurred, in part, because the landowners usually reserved the best acreage for their own use, yet often expected their tenants' yields per acre to equal their own. It was reinforced, however, by the behavior of the tenants and croppers who, by virtue of the fact that they did not own the land, tended to mismanage the soil even further. Finally, a not so negative cause for the increased amount of land under cultivation during the early twentieth century was the development and widespread acceptance of terrace farming. Actually, terracing was seen as a remedy for the severe erosion that accompanied the previously mentioned destructive agricultural practices. However, it also allowed greater amounts of land to be cultivated since the threat of further erosion was at least under control. Extensive terracing has been noted at the Harper and McCalla II sites, and to a lesser extent, at the Clinkscales site.

By the late 1930s and the 1940s, however, the production of cotton in the project area had been largely abandoned because of strong competition from the still-fertile western states, the severe damage to the crops caused by the boll weevil, and the loss of a large work-force as a

result of the Depression and, later, World War II. Cotton fields were either allowed to grow up in old field succession or were purposefully planted in timber. By 1959, according to aerial photographs taken by the Soil Conservation Service, most of the Harper, Clinkscapes, McCalla I, and Gilbert Gray sites were covered with plantation pine or mixed pine-hardwood forests. Stands of hardwoods were noted in the stream valleys. The McCalla II site, however, still had major portions of land under cultivation, especially where the Iredell soils are located to the north and east of the house site. With the aid of artificial drainage and commercial fertilizers, these soils were and still are capable of supporting intensive cultivation.

Since the early 1960s, the project area has continued to remain primarily in woodlands. This has been accompanied by the large scale acquisition of all of the land under investigation by large timber, pulp, and paper companies. Through the reforestation of these sites, the erosion caused by over-cultivation and other destructive agricultural practices has been stopped. However, irreparable damage has taken place, and many more years must pass before the evidence of this misuse will be erased.

IV. A SOUTHERN MICROCOSM: THE TALE OF FOUR FAMILIES

It is interesting that when these sites were chosen for archaeological investigation, the motivating factor behind the decision was their apparent archaeological integrity. As it turns out, each of the sites investigated is totally different from the others, and each of the families that was researched falls into a separate social and economic class. From the thorough study of these four families, observations can be made concerning settlement and transportation patterns, the rise and decline of cotton monoculture, the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction on the South, and the ultimate movement out of the area at a level of detail unavailable from a general history of the area. The following pages are not concerned with historical generalities, but with actual, and sometimes harsh, reality: the reality of living in the rural South during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as seen through the records left by four families and through the eyes of their close relatives and friends.

The context into which the following detailed life and site histories must be placed in order for them to be understood is the general history of the Southern Piedmont, from its initial Euro-American settlement to the present. A good overview of this history as it pertains directly to the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake project area has been prepared by The History Group (1981). This report should be referred to for a regional analysis of the trends and events that are discussed on a site-specific basis in the following pages.

Concerning the title of this chapter, even though the four families that were investigated during the course of this project can each be assigned to a separate social and economic class, they do not represent the entire range of classes present in the South. Particularly lacking from this study is information on slavery in the Russell project area. Although three of the families studied owned slaves prior to the Civil War, no positive archaeological evidence was found for the presence of slaves on any of the sites associated with these three families, nor did the historical records go into any great detail concerning activities of slaves at these sites. Most of the evidence concerning slavery at these sites revolves around the slaveowners' views of their property: what each slave was considered to be worth, how slaves were divided in estate settlements, how many were owned, etc. Thus, the following pages represent only a partial microcosm of southern life. More particularly, what is being observed here are the changing fortunes of four different types of landowners in the rural South: large-scale white planter and slaveowner, "average" white planter, small-scale white farmer, and small-scale black farmer. This report is about these people and the sites on which they lived. The discussion of these four families is arranged alphabetically according to their last names.

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CLINKSCALES SITE (38AB287) AND FAMILY HISTORY

Between 1850 and 1856, William Franklin Clinkscales and his family moved from Anderson, South Carolina, to the vicinity of Lowndesville in Abbeville District, South Carolina. Clinkscales purchased 450 acres along the Savannah River, possibly from either William H. Caldwell or William H. Caldwell, Jr. The 1825 Mills' Atlas shows this area to have been called "Coldwells Old Quarter" (Figure 3), and an 1833 plat of Dr. John McCalla's land shows it to have been bounded on the north by lands belonging to both William H. Caldwell and William H. Caldwell, Jr. It is possible, however, that someone else may have owned the land between the Coldwells and the Clinkscales.

When William Franklin moved to this property, he apparently built the home that housed two subsequent generations of Clinkscales before the property passed out of the family. The house was known by the subsequent members of the family as the "Old Home Place" (Cook 1980: 140).

The first official record of William Franklin Clinkscales' presence in the project area is an Abbeville District tax record book from 1856. In that year, Clinkscales paid a tax of \$64.00 on 450 acres and 6 slaves. Of the 450 acres, apparently 100 were improved (S.C. Comptroller General 1856).

Population, agricultural and slave census records for 1860 indicate that the Clinkscales' property holding was what could be considered as just better than average-sized. According to figures compiled by The History Group (1981:114), a middle-sized farm during the mid-nineteenth century ranged from 100 acres to 500 acres, with 360 acres being average. In 1860, Clinkscales was reported as having 420 acres, of which 150 were improved, and 8 slaves, who lived in 2 houses. The figure of 420 total acres in the agricultural census may be inaccurate, since the figure of 450 acres has consistently shown up in the probate records and recent land transactions.

Other inconsistencies are also observed when one compares the 1860 population and agricultural schedules. On the 1860 population census, Clinkscales was recorded as having real estate valued at \$16,300 and personal property worth \$8,136. However, the 1860 agricultural census reported the cash value of Clinkscales' farm as being only \$6,300. When one compares the cash value per acre of Clinkscales' farm to those of his neighbors, George McCalla and Henry Harper, recorded at the same time, it appears that the cash value of Clinkscales' farm as recorded in the agricultural census (\$6,300) was probably the more accurate of the two (Table 4).

According to the 1860 slave schedule, Clinkscales owned 4 female slaves (aged 35, 18, 18, and 16) and 4 male slaves (aged 20, 12, 10, and 3). In comparison to an overall average of 10 slaves per owner for the states permitting slavery in 1860 (Wright 1978:32), it can be observed that Clinkscales owned slightly less than an average number of slaves for that year.

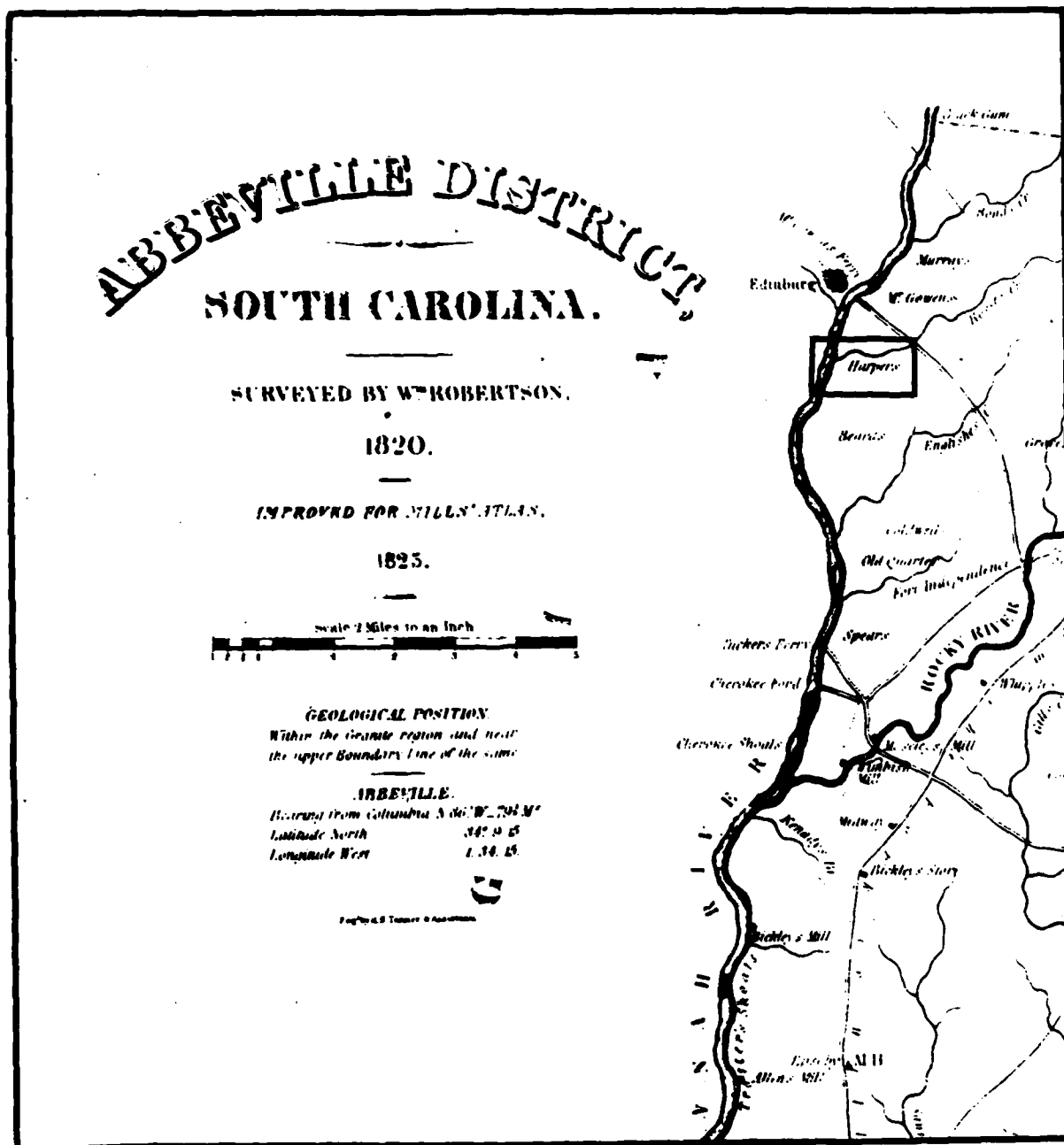


FIGURE 3
 1820 MAP OF ABBEVILLE COUNTY, SHOWING LOCATION OF HARPER SITE (38AB21)

Table 4. Cash Value Per Acre as Reported in the 1860 Agricultural Census.

<u>Name</u>	<u># Acres</u>	<u>Cash Value of Farm</u>	<u>Cash Value per Acre</u>
George R. McCalla	3000	\$31,000	\$10.33
Henry H.B. Harper	1400	21,000	15.00
William F. Clinkscales	420	6,300	15.00
William F. Clinkscales (1860 Population Census)	(420)	\$16,300	(\$38.81)

Finally, Clinkscales' agricultural census for 1860 shows that, in addition to cotton farming, he was involved in the production of subsistence crops, wool, dairy products, livestock, and some home manufactures (Table 5).

An 1865 Abbeville District tax record book, which has been preserved by the S.C. Department of Archives and History, shows that at the close of the Civil War, William F. Clinkscales had managed to retain all of his 450 acres, but that the cash value of his real estate had depreciated to literally one-half of its 1860 amount (Table 6).

A separate entry in the 1865 tax record book shows another "W.F. Clinkscales" as having had 700 acres, but it is unlikely that the two entries represent separate returns by the same individual. In the 1870 agricultural census, the William F. Clinkscales about whom this study is concerned is shown as having 460 acres, valued at \$3,500. While the value of Clinkscales' property was reduced in 1870 to one-half of its pre-war amount, and his livestock and crop yields had also dwindled some, it appears that overall the Clinkscales' farm was able to weather the economic changes brought about by the Civil War and the abolition of slavery (Table 7). It is probable that the effects would have been greater between 1860 and 1870 had Clinkscales originally owned more slaves than he did.

However, by 1880 the Clinkscales' fortunes had taken a turn downward. Undoubtedly harder hit by reconstruction between 1870 and 1880, and unable to pay for sufficient wage labor, it appears that by 1880 William F. Clinkscales had abandoned much of his improved acreage that had probably originally been planted in cotton and was concentrating on the production of primarily subsistence crops and raising animals (Table 8).

Table 5. William F. Clinkscales' 1860 Agricultural Census Return.

Acres of improved land	150	
Acres of unimproved land	270	
Cash value of farm		\$6,300
Cash value of farm implements and machinery		140
Horses	5	
Asses and mules	1	
Milk cows	5	
Working oxen	4	
Other cattle	21	
Sheep	50	
Swine	50	
Value of livestock		1,326
Cash value of animals slaughtered		372
Indian corn (bushels)	1,200	
Oats (bushels)	100	
Cotton (bales)	18	
Wool (pounds)	100	
Peas and beans (bushels)	150	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	25	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	75	
Hay (tons)	6	
Wine (gallons)	5	
Butter (pounds)	250	
Value of homemade manufactures		45

Table 6. W.F. Clinkscales' 1865 Tax Return.

	<u>Tax</u>
450 acres of land valued @ \$3,150	\$4.73
Poll tax on 1 male between 21 and 60 years old	2.00
4 dogs @ \$1 each	4.00
Cotton on hand 10/1/1865 valued @ \$1,200	<u>12.00</u>
Total tax	\$22.73

Table 7. William F. Clinkscales' 1870 Agricultural Census Return.

Acres of improved land	160	
Acres of woodland	90	
Acres of other unimproved land	210	
Cash value of farm		\$3,500
Cash value of farm implements and machinery		50
Total amount of wages/board paid		800
Horses	2	
Mules and asses	2	
Milk cows	6	
Working oxen	4	
Other cattle	10	
Sheep	25	
Swine	25	
Value of livestock		800
Value of animals slaughtered		160
Winter wheat (bushels)	85	
Indian corn (bushels)	500	
Oats (bushels)	60	
Cotton (bales)	14	
Estimated value of all farm production		\$1,780

Table 8. William F. Clinkscales' 1880 Agricultural Census Return.

Acres of improved land	30	
Acres of woodland	170	
Acres of other unimproved land	230	
Cash value of farm		\$4,400
Cash value of farm implements and machinery		70
1879 cost of building/repairing fences		20
1879 amount paid for wages/board		250
Horses	3	
Mules and asses	2	
Working oxen	2	
Milk cows	6	
Other cattle	10	
Calves dropped in 1879	6	

Table 8 (concluded)

Cattle slaughtered in 1879	2	
Sheep	7	
Lambs dropped in 1879	3	
Sheep purchased in 1879	2	
Swine	8	
Barnyard poultry	40	
Other poultry	35	
Value of livestock		365
Pounds of butter made in 1879	150	
Fleeces	4	
Wool (pounds)	8	
Dozens of eggs in 1879	100	
Acres planted in Indian corn in 1879	8	
Indian corn (bushels)	300	
Acres planted in oats in 1879	6	
Oats (bushels)	200	
Acres planted in wheat in 1879	9	
Wheat (bushels)	130	
Acres planted in cotton in 1879	16	
Cotton (bales)	8	
Acres planted in Irish potatoes in 1879	1/16	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	10	
Acres planted in sweet potatoes in 1879	1/4	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	15	
Acres of apple orchard	3	
Number of bearing apple trees	120	
Acres of peach orchard	1/2	
Number of bearing peach trees	20	
Honey (pounds)	50	
Beeswax (pounds)	10	
Amount of wood cut (cords)	30	
Value of all forest products sold or consumed		30
Estimated value of all farm productions		1,150

Despite the abandonment of a large amount of improved acreage, however, it appears that through the diversification of his farm productions, Clinkscates was able to keep the farm intact. Of the crops and farm products that were reported in 1880, probably the only ones that were sold for cash were the cotton, and possibly some of the butter, eggs, and wood.

William Franklin Clinkscates married Rosa Ann Harkness in 1838. They had two children before she died in 1843. In 1844 he married again, this time to Lucinda Burton, with whom he spent the remaining 62 years of his life. William and Lucinda probably had three to four children of their own, plus William's two children by his previous

marriage, when they moved to their farm near Lowndesville. They had eight or nine children, of which five to six survived past childhood, after they moved to the Lowndesville area. Figure 4 shows the Clinkscales' genealogy as it directly pertains to an understanding of the transfers of land at Site 38AB287.

In 1894, William F. Clinkscales deeded to his wife, Lucinda, all 450 acres of land that he had owned (Abbeville County Deed Book 8, page 175:December 9, 1894). Apparently, at about this same time, William's and Lucinda's son, Ezekiel Orr Clinkscales, took over active management of the farm. Ezekiel, who was born in 1861, was unmarried at the time and was living at the "home place" with his parents.

The population census for 1900 showed that, in that year, persons living at the "home place" were William Franklin and Lucinda, Ezekiel, his two sisters, Josephine and Leona, and two young black children who had apparently been indentured as servants. William was probably retired and possibly not in good health, since no occupation was given for him. Ezekiel, on the other hand, was listed as being a farmer and a farm schedule number was given for him, rather than for his father.

William Franklin Clinkscales died at the age of 91 on December 4, 1906. He left no will. Lucinda Clinkscales survived her husband by only 15 days; she was 82 years old.

According to Lucinda Clinkscales' will (Abbeville County Probate Records, Box 282, Packet 6590), which was dated January 11, 1904, Ezekiel Clinkscales was directed to purchase the 450 acres deeded to her by William F. for the sum of \$3,600. This money was then to be divided equally among her eight surviving children (including Ezekiel, but omitting Lucinda's daughter Julia F.C. Bell, who died in 1899), and the five children of Julia, who were to share equally in their mother's portion. Therefore, each of Lucinda's eight living children received \$400 from the sale of the land, and Julia Bell's five children each received \$80. Lucinda also gave \$200 to her stepdaughter Mary Ann (Polly) C. Burton. All the rest of her personal property Lucinda directed to have divided in the same manner. To do this, Ezekiel, as Executor of her estate, had her personal property appraised and sold at a public auction. The appraisement of her estate (Table 9) and the sale bill (Table 10) provide invaluable insight into the workings of the Clinkscales' farm and the furnishings of the house during the first decade of the twentieth century.

From an examination of these two documents, it appears that the Clinkscales had both a blacksmith shop and a smokehouse. This has been verified by Mr. Henry A. Cook, a nephew of Ezekiel Clinkscales, who spent many summers at the "old home place" as a child and who remembers the locations of these two structures (see Chapter V).

When the final return on the estate of Lucinda Clinkscales was finally made in 1913, each of her children received an additional \$168.26 from the sale of her personal property less incurred expenses, and her five grandchildren by her daughter Julia each received an additional \$33.65. Meanwhile, however, her son Thomas B. Clinkscales, whose

The genealogical chart illustrates the Clinckscale family across three generations. The top generation consists of Rose Ann Heilness (1810-1843) and William Franklin Clinckscale (1814-1908), who are parents of four children. The middle generation includes Lucinda Burton (1824-1906), Caleb Clinckscale (~1847-?), Mary Ann Clinckscale (~1842-?), and Lawrence Orr Clinckscale (~1841-~1863). The bottom generation shows the children of these individuals, including Susan Miller (1870-1936), Estabel Orr Clinckscale (1861-1943), Jennie Miller (?), Leona Clinckscale (1866-~1937), J. Fulton Clinckscale (?), Robert Eugene Clinckscale (1866-1923), and William Clinckscale (~1868-1880). The chart also includes names of grandchildren, such as John Frank Clinckscale (~1915-~1940), Ruby Thrall (?), Ray Clinckscale (1898-1971), Louise Bell (?), Josephine Cumminge (?), Ralph Clinckscale (1898-1970), Daisy Smith (?), and Joseph Estabel Clinckscale (1913-1932).

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graph TD
    RAH[Rose Ann Heilness  
1810-1843] --- WFC[William Franklin Clinckscale  
1814-1908]
    WFC --- LBS[Lucinda Burton  
1824-1906]
    WFC --- C[Caleb Clinckscale  
~1847-?]
    WFC --- MA[Mary Ann Clinckscale  
~1842-?]
    WFC --- LO[Lawrence Orr Clinckscale  
~1841-~1863]
    LBS --- JFC[Josephine Clinckscale  
1849-1928]
    LBS --- D[Dee Clinckscale  
~1854-1942]
    LBS --- HG[Henry Gaines Johnson  
?]
    LBS --- TB[Thomas Barthy Clinckscale  
1856-1899]
    LBS --- SS[Sarah (Saks) Clinckscale  
1857-1937]
    LBS --- JS[John B. Sullivan  
?]
    LBS --- JC[John C. Clinckscale  
1859-1898]
    LBS --- JMB[John Mott Ball  
?]
    C --- JFC
    C --- D
    C --- HG
    C --- TB
    C --- SS
    C --- JS
    C --- JC
    C --- JMB
    MA --- JFC
    MA --- D
    MA --- HG
    MA --- TB
    MA --- SS
    MA --- JS
    MA --- JC
    MA --- JMB
    LO --- JFC
    LO --- D
    LO --- HG
    LO --- TB
    LO --- SS
    LO --- JS
    LO --- JC
    LO --- JMB
    JFC --- SM[Susan Miller  
1870-1936]
    JFC --- EO[Estabel Orr Clinckscale  
1861-1943]
    JFC --- JM[Jennie Miller  
?]
    JFC --- LC[Leona Clinckscale  
1866-~1937]
    JFC --- JF[J. Fulton Clinckscale  
?]
    JFC --- RE[Robert Eugene Clinckscale  
1866-1923]
    JFC --- WC[William Clinckscale  
~1868-1880]
    SM --- JEC[Joseph Estabel Clinckscale  
1913-1932]
    SM --- DS[Daisy Smith  
?]
    SM --- RC[Ralph Clinckscale  
1898-1970]
    SM --- JCum[Josephine Cumminge  
?]
    SM --- LB[Louise Bell  
?]
    SM --- R[Clyde Clinckscale  
1898-1971]
    SM --- RT[Ruby Thrall  
?]
    SM --- JFB[John Frank Clinckscale  
~1915-~1940]
    EO --- JEC
    EO --- DS
    EO --- RC
    EO --- JCum
    EO --- LB
    EO --- R
    EO --- RT
    EO --- JFB
    JM --- JEC
    JM --- DS
    JM --- RC
    JM --- JCum
    JM --- LB
    JM --- R
    JM --- RT
    JM --- JFB
    LC --- JEC
    LC --- DS
    LC --- RC
    LC --- JCum
    LC --- LB
    LC --- R
    LC --- RT
    LC --- JFB
    JF --- JEC
    JF --- DS
    JF --- RC
    JF --- JCum
    JF --- LB
    JF --- R
    JF --- RT
    JF --- JFB
    RE --- JEC
    RE --- DS
    RE --- RC
    RE --- JCum
    RE --- LB
    RE --- R
    RE --- RT
    RE --- JFB
    WC --- JEC
    WC --- DS
    WC --- RC
    WC --- JCum
    WC --- LB
    WC --- R
    WC --- RT
    WC --- JFB
  
```

FIGURE 4
CLINKSCALES GENEALOGICAL CHART

• = Land Ownership of Site 38AB287

house site (38AB221) has been investigated by Carolina Archaeological Services (1981), had died in 1909. Part of the estate settlement included \$1,601.00 in rents paid by the estate of Thomas Clinkscales to his mother's estate, thereby demonstrating that Thomas Clinkscales was not a land owner, but was allowed to rent part of his parents' land.

Table 9. Appraise Bill of the Personal Property of Lucinda Clinkscales Deceased as Appraised By Us This 24 Day of January 1907.

<u>Articles</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Articles</u>	<u>Value</u>
1 Cow & Calf	18.00	1 Center Table	5.00
1 " "	15.00	1 " "	1.00
1 " "	10.00	2 Rockin [sic] Chairs	3.00
1 Steer	10.00	3 Lace Curtains & Shades	4.00
1 Cow	12.00	1 Bureau & Mirror	5.00
5 Yearlings	25.00	1 Sewing Machine	5.00
2 Hogs	10.00	1 Clock	2.00
1 Lot of Fodder per Hundred	\$1.50	1 lamp	.50
1 Lot Corn per bush.	.70	9 Chairs	2.50
1 Corn sheller	1.00	1 Bed stead	3.00
1 Bellows	1.00	1 " "	1.50
1 Anvil	3.00	1 Wash stand & towel Rack	1.00
1 Vise	2.00	3 Feather Beds	30.00
1 Buggy & Harness	5.00	2 Mattresses	5.00
1 "	.50	4 Pillows	2.00
1 Boiler	2.00	1 Clock	.50
1 Pot	2.00	1 Chest	2.50
16 pieces Meat per pound	.09 cts	7 Jars	1.50
3 Jars of Lard " "	.10 "	1 brass Kettle	1.00
1 dining table	1.50	1 table	.50
1/2 doz " chairs	2.00		
1 Small table	.50		
1 Cupboard	3.00		
1 Lot dishes & Glass ware	10.00		
2 half Round Tables	1.50		
1 Bed Room suit	10.00		
1 Commode	.50		
1 Alter [?]	1.00		

We the undersigned appraisers of the Estate of Mrs. Lucinda Clinkscales certify that the above is a correct appraisalment of all property shown us by E.O. Clinkscales.

S.S. Boles
I.
E.W. Harper

Table 10.

Sale Bill of the Estate of
Lucinda Clinkscases deceased
Sold day of 1907

Page 1

Article		Purchaser	Price
Dining Table		E.O. Clinkscases	1.50
Dish & Bowl	paid	J.A. Hill	.40
Dish & Bowl		B.E. Clinkscases	1.10
Glass Dish		S.S. Boles	.05
T.S.I St Spoon		T.B. Clinkscases	1.00
Knives & Forks		E.O. Clinkscases	2.50
2 Smoothing Irons		Julia Clinkscases	.50
12 plates		E.O. Clinkscases	1.00
Spoons, Knives, & Forks		" "	1.00
1/2 Doz Spoons		Mrs. Sullivan	4.00
Knives & Forks		E.O. Clinkscases	5.00
Berry Set	paid	" "	.80
1 Set Cups & Saucers		" "	.70
1 Set 8 Plates Small		Miss J. Clinkscases	1.40
Gravy bowl [?] & Dish		T.B. Clinkscases	.35
Pitcher		E.O. Clinkscases	.20
Glasses and Waiter [?]		T.B. Clinkscases	1.00
Sugar dish etc [?]		E.O. Clinkscases	.25
Glass Pitcher		Mrs. H.J. Johnson	.85
Preserve Stand		Miss J. Clinkscases	.75
Tea Pot		R.E. Clinkscases	.35
1 Set plates		Miss J. Clinkscases	1.00
Salt cellar		E.O. Clinkscases	3.00
Gravy Bowl & Dish		T.B. Clinkscases	.75
big Dish, Steak		E.O. Clinkscases	3.00
1 Safe		" "	8.00
Re Table		R.E. Clinkscases	.30
Pistol		E.O. Clinkscases	.25
			<u>39.95</u>

Page 2

Boiler	E.O.C.	.70
1 Jar	T.B. Clinkscases	.15
pan	" "	.30
Muffin Pans	E.O.C.	.25
fly trap	R.E.C.	.50
Comb	E.O.C.	.35
Cake Pans	"	.35
4 Jars	"	.75
pat. stove [?]	"	.80
2 Jars	"	.35
Scales	"	1.00

Table 10 (continued)

Article	Purchaser	Amount
Jar of lard	J.H. Bell 10¢#	3.40
Jar	E.O.C.	.56
Jar of lard	" 4 1/2¢#	2.85
Jar	J.H. Bell	.57
Jar of lard	" " 10 1/4¢#	3.48
Wash pot	E.O.C.	3.00
Boiler	"	4.00
Buggy & Harness	R.E. Clinkscates	14.00
Buggy	T.B.C.	.25
Hams	E.O.C. 14 1/2¢#	8.12
Shoulders	Mrs. Johnson 10¢#	4.60
Middlings	E.O.C. 8¢#	4.80
Set of Irons	Not Sold	
Sheep [?] 1/2 int	E.O.C. @ 2.10	
Meat Chopper	"	2.00
Shop tools	"	5.00
Corn Sheller	"	1.00
Fodder 2500	" @2.25pr	56.25
Cow & Calf	"	25.00
Dry [?] Cow black	"	13.00
little black cow & calf	R.E.C.	9.00
Black Calf	E.O.C.	5.00
		194.18

Page 3

Gun	R.E. Clinkscates	2.00
2 1/2-Round Tables	R.E.C.	7.00
Wash Bowl & Pitcher	E.O.C.	1.50
bed room set	Miss J. Clinkscates	25.00
3 Curtains & Pulls	E.O. Clinkscates	2.00
6 Set Chairs	" .50 ea.	3.00
4 Chairs	" .40 ea.	1.60
4 old fashion chairs	" .25 ea.	1.00
1 Glass, looking	T.B. Clinkscates	2.00
1 Bureau	E.O. Clinkscates	2.00
1 Sewing Machine	Miss J. Clinkscates	10.00
Clock	E.O. Clinkscates	2.7
1 lamp	"	.6
Watch	T.B. Clinkscates	1.00
37# feather bed & 2 pillows	C.L. Clinkscates	15.00
40# feather bed	T.B. Clinkscates	18.20
" " "	Mrs. H.J. Johnson	10.00
1 Mattress [?]	R.E. Clinkscates	2.25
"	J.H. Bell	2.00
Wash Stand & Rack	"	2.00
	Otto Nelson paid	2.50
Oak	R.E. Clinkscates	3.00
Chest	"	3.00
Clock	Mrs. H.G. Johnson	.10 [?]

Table 10 (concluded)

Article	Purchaser	Amount
Commode	T.B. Clinkscases	2.95
Center [?] Table	R.E. Clinkscases	1.75
Marbling [?] Table	E.O. Clinkscases	10.00
Settee	Mrs. Sullivan	3.20
	E.O. Clinkscases	.20
2 Rockers	R.E. Clinkscases	5.00
1 Kitchen Table	E.O. Clinkscases	.25
Stew Kettle	Miss J. Clinkscases	1.25
1 dish pan [?] & Knife		.75
		<u>153.00</u>

Page 4

Heifer calf [or calfling]	R.E.C.		25.00
" "	E.O.C.		27.00
Heifer	Mrs. Sullivan		25.00
Cow male [?]	E.O.C.		11.00
Hog & 7 pigs	E.O.C.		15.00
Cow & Calf	R.E.C.		20.00
	R.E.C.		4.00
Calf	T.B.C.	Paid	5.10
G	E.O.C.	@ 30	2.10
Corn	"	@82¢ 100 bu	82.00
"	R.E.C.	@86¢ 100 bu	86.00
Corn	E.O.C.	@87¢ 100 bu	87.00
"	J.H. Bell	@87¢ balance	
Stretcher	E.O.C.		.50
Cross Cut Saw			.50
			<u>388.20</u>

J.A.W. Tucker

Clerk

\$270.00 accounted for in return

775.33
270.00
 505.33

During his operation of the farm, Ezekiel Clinkscases was actively involved in the acquisition of additional land. As early as 1905 he began acquiring part of the "old Tucker place," north of the original 450 acres bought by William Franklin Clinkscases (Abbeville County Deed Book 26, Page 225). A 1908 Abbeville County tax return showed that in addition to the 450 acres tied up in his mother's estate (labelled as the "W.F. Clinkscases' Estate" on the tax return), Ezekiel Clinkscases owned 370 acres of his own (Table 11). His 1913 tax duplicate (Table 12) showed no difference in the amount of acreage owned, but by 1933 Ezekiel was paying tax on 1,316 acres plus one town lot. His wife, who he married around 1912, Susan Miller Clinkscases, paid taxes on 500 acres (Table 13).

Table 11. Ezekiel Clinkscales' Tax Return for 1908.

1 Horse @ \$75 (\$100 - Value set by Township Board)
5 Cattle @ \$50
8 Mules @ \$460 (\$600)
20 Sheep/Goats @ \$20 (\$30)
5 Hogs @ \$15
2 Vehicles (Wagons, Buggies) @ \$60
1 Dog @ \$5
Other Property @ \$50

370 Acres @ \$1,850

W.F. Clinkscales' Estate
450 Acres @ \$2,250

Table 12. Ezekiel Clinkscales' Tax Duplicate for 1913.

Total Value Taxable Real Property	-	\$4,100
Total Value Taxable Personal Property	-	965
Total Value Taxable Property	-	5,065
Total Tax	-	\$81.04
Poll Tax	-	\$1

1 Horse @ \$100
10 Cattle @ \$100
8 Mules/Asses @ \$600
15 Sheep/Goats @ \$15
5 Hogs @ \$5
1 Watch @ \$20
3 Vehicles @ \$75
Household Furniture, etc. - \$50

820 Acres @ \$4,100

Table 13. Ezekiel and Susan Clinkscales' Auditor's Duplicates for 1933.

1,316 Acres @ \$5,260
5 Buildings @ \$250
Total Value of Country Real Estate - \$5,510
1 Town Lot @ \$100
1 Building @ \$400
Total Town Real Estate Value - \$500

Total Value All Taxable Real Property - \$6,010
Total Value All Taxable Personal Property - 575
Total Value All Taxable Property - 6,585

14 Mules @ \$350
1 Horse @ \$25
10 Cattle @ \$100
2 Vehicles (non-gas powered) @ \$20
1 Gas Vehicle @ \$30
Household Furniture @ \$50

Susan Clinkscales (Mrs. E.O. Clinkscales)
500 Acres @ \$2,000
2 Buildings @ \$60
Total Value Taxable Property - \$2,060

Susan Miller Clinkscales and Ezekiel Orr Clinkscales had one son, Joseph Ezekiel, who was born in 1913. On September 5, 1932, Joseph died in a drowning accident on the Savannah River, while trying to save the life of one of his cousins. His mother, Susan, died in 1936, and Ezekiel subsequently married Jennie (Addie) Miller. They had no children.

While Ezekiel continued to acquire property into the 1940s, he was apparently also selling portions of his land at the same time. In 1938 he sold 105 acres that had been part of the "old Tucker place" to his nephew, Ralph Clinkscales (Abbeville County Deed Book 82, Page 58). Ralph had earlier acquired 100 acres that had belonged to Ezekiel and Susan's son, Joseph.

Ezekiel Clinkscales died intestate in 1943, reportedly of a fall on the hilly road to the north of the house (H.A. Cook, personal communication). Ezekiel's land was apparently sold in a transaction that was totally separate from the probate settlement, since there is no mention of any land transactions in the estate documentation (Abbeville County Probate Records, Box 366, Packet 9285). The estate papers for Ezekiel Clinkscales, however, do provide an invaluable insight to mid-twentieth century farm life, and an interesting comparison with the settlement papers for Lucinda Clinkscales, 37 years earlier. Jennie Clinkscales

sold all of Ezekiel's personal property at a public auction, the proceeds of which, minus expenses, were then distributed between herself and Ezekiel's other living relatives, mostly nieces and nephews. Table 14 shows a breakdown of the personal property that was sold at the auction.

The returns on the estate between Ezekiel's death and December 1944, also provide some useful information as to how the farm operated on a day-to-day basis. The Clinkscales were apparently selling as cash crops lumber, cotton, cottonseed, and some animals. They also derived income from house rentals and sharecropping. They were apparently charging rent to at least six individuals. Finally, they also drew income from several bank notes and U.S. Government War Savings Bonds.

Table 14. Sale Bill on the Estate of Ezekiel Clinkscales.

Article	Purchaser	Amount
Binder	Ray Clinkscales	\$50.00
Mower (McCormick-Deering)	"	65.00
Pea Thrasher	Prue McCarley	7.00
1 bbl. molasses	Ralph Clinkscales	10.00
scales	Mrs. Gertrude B. Fennell	2.00
Peas	Baker Speer	1.50
1 barrel	J.T. Clinkscales	.60
Plow beam	Raymond Clinkscales	1.50
Drag harrow	S.H. Barnes	5.00
2 plow stocks @ 50¢, 1 harrow		
@ 50¢, 1 distributor [sic] @ 50¢	William Harrison	2.00
Fertilizer distributor [sic]	Mrs. Reese Parnell	5.00
Avery Cotton Planter	Ralph Clinkscales	5.00
2 plow stocks @ \$1.00	" "	2.00
2 plow stocks	William Harrison	1.60
1 goober plow	Ben McMahan	3.00
1 goober plow	Malon Dunn	3.25
1 middle buster	Raymond Clinkscales	3.00
1 middle buster	"	1.00
1 pitch fork	W.T.H. Baskin	1.15
1 pitch fork	W.H. Beauford	.35
1 grain scoop	J.H. Fisher	1.00
1 hoe	Raymond Clinkscales	.60
1 hoe	"	.90
1 hoe	Mrs. Gertrude B. Fennell	1.00
1 hoe	Frank Thompson	.75
1 ditch shovel	S.H. Barnes	1.00
1 automobile (1936 V-8 Ford)	Mrs. Leona Clinkscales ceiling price	295
Well rope & windlass	J.T. Clinkscales	4.25
1 pot	B.L. Haddon	1.00
1 pot	B.L. Haddon	5.00
Grindstone	W.H. Beauford	1.10
Rocking chair	Mrs. Jennie M. Clinkscales	2.00

Table 14 (continued)

Rocking chair	Mrs. R.C. Parnell	10.00
2 lawn chairs	Mrs. Jennie M. Clinkscales	12.00
1 roaster	Mary Boyd	1.00
1 kitchen scales	Mary Boyd	1.50
1 griddle pan	W.D. Mann	1.80
waffle iron	Mrs. R.C. Parnell	.75
Biscuit pan	Bruce Clinkscales	.25
Biscuit pan	Raymond Clinkscales	.40
Muffin pan	Mary Boyd	.20
Water bucket	Otto Nelson	1.75
Water bucket	J.C. Loftis	.75
Lantern	Boozier Barnes	.35
Dinner Pot	Raymond Clinkscales	2.10
Dinner Pot	W.L. Beauford	1.25
Dinner Pot	Otto Nelson	1.50
3 jars	J.K. Carwile	.25
1 jug	Mrs. Gertrude B. Fennell	.25
1 jug	J.K. Carwile	.10
2 jars	Mary Boyd	1.35
1 jar	W.H. Beauford	1.65
1 table	Mary Boyd	5.00
1 keg	Alvin Hutchinson	.35
kit tools	Walter Burris	.50
1 dbl. barrel shotgun	John Yeargin	2.25
1 sgl. barrel shotgun	John Prince	1.50
1 sausage mill	Mrs. R.C. Parnell	5.50
Tools	Milton Orzment	.35
Cow bell	W.H. Beauford	.30
2 augers	William Harrison	.25
1 wrench	"	.90
1 coffee mill	Mrs. John McCalla	1.00
1 sausage mill	Walter Burris	.75
2 picks	Mary Boyd	1.00
Hammer & wedge	Leona Gable	1.00
3 saws	Milton Orzment	1.25
1 table	Ralph Clinkscales	1.00
1 bbl & molasses	"	5.00
1 barrel	Bryan Hutchinson	1.30
1 Mowblade sharpener	Marshall Bone	1.25
1 Washpot	Hop Bowie	5.50
Corn Sheller	J.T. Clinkscales	4.25
1 basket & jars	W. T. H. Baskin	1.25
1 chair	Mrs. H.G. Bone	.25
1 billey	Mary Boyd	.25
Rolling chair	Ray Clinkscales	5.00
Sheepshears	"	5.00
Feather bed	Otto Nelson	7.00
1 Platter	Ralph Ware	.50
Sugar bowl & cream	Mary Boyd	2.25
pitcher	Mrs. Gertrude B. Fennell	1.50
dishes	Mrs. John McCalla	2.50
dishes	Ralph Clinkscales	.75

Table 14 (concluded)

saltcellar	Raymond Clinkscales	3.50
dishes	Mrs. Jennie M. Clinkscales	.40
1 corner cupboard	Ray Clinkscales	27.00
1 cow	W.D. Mann	48.00
1 cow	Ralph Clinkscales	33.00
1 mule	Orr Clinkscales	46.00
1 mule	Ralph Clinkscales	105.00
1 mule	Ray Clinkscales	100.00
1 mule	Ray Clinkscales	25.00
1 iron wheeled wagon	Otto Nelson	12.00
1 wagon	Ralph Clinkscales	60.00
gears	Ray Clinkscales	7.00
2 sets gears	Mr. Potter	2.25
2 sets gears	T.W. Taylor	1.80
Vise	W.H. Beauford	4.30
1 cookstove	Reba Davis	11.50
125 bu. corn @ \$1.35	Ralph Clinkscales	168.75
1/2 of 11 stacks hay	Ralph Clinkscales	50.00
1 cream pitcher	Ray Clinkscales	1.50

Real estate titles show that on December 13, 1944, Ezekiel's land was transferred to two of his nephews, Ralph and Ray Clinkscales (Abbeville County Deed Book 61, Pages 119-123). Ralph and Ray were the twin sons of Ezekiel's younger brother, Robert Eugene. Ralph received 736 acres, including the original 450 acres and the house, and Ray received 262 acres. In 1947 and 1950, Ralph sold a total of 325 acres to Ray, but retained in his own possession the house and the original land. In 1955, both brothers sold all of their land to Alan B. Sibley of Greenville County, South Carolina (Abbeville County Deed Book 90, Pages 319-321). This marked the beginning of the period of absentee land-ownership for the site. In 1957, Alan Sibley sold all of his lands acquired from the Clinkscales family as well as from others to his son and possibly a nephew, Alan B. Sibley, Jr. and Winston H. Sibley, Jr., both of Baldwin County, Georgia (Abbeville County Deed Book 95, Pages 33-35). They subsequently sold the land to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in 1978.

After the Clinkscales sold the property to Alan Sibley in 1955, the "old home place" went into a period of tenant occupation. The last person to live in the house was Wayne (Piccolo) Boles (R. Nelson, personal communication). A hurricane in 1976 damaged one of the chimneys, but left the house intact (Plate 1, upper left). In 1977, the house was destroyed by fire after approximately 130 years of occupation, the majority of which was by three generations of Clinkscales.

One of Ezekiel Clinkscales grand-nephews, Mr. Henry A. Cook, has written a genealogy of the Clinkscales' family (Cook 1980:117-158). Mr. Cook, who spent every summer between the ages of 4 and 12 at the "old home place," is currently living in Florida and has very graciously provided additional information about the site. The photographs in Plates

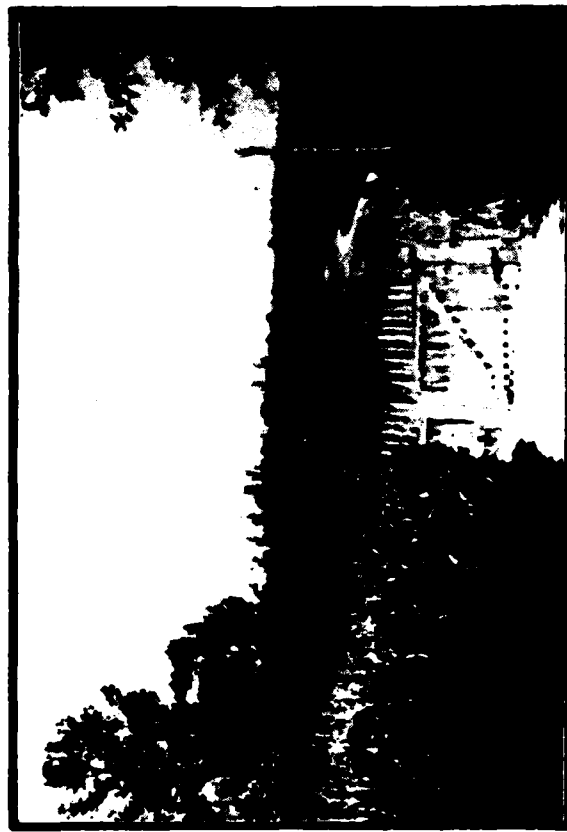


PLATE 1.

Upper Left: View of the Clinkscapes House (38AB287) from the East, Taken in 1976 (Courtesy of Mr. Henry A. Cook).

Upper Right: View of the Clinkscapes House (38AB287) from the North, Taken in 1976 (Courtesy of Mr. Henry A. Cook).

Lower Left: View from the Front Porch of the Clinkscapes House (38AB287), Looking Northeast (Courtesy of Mr. Henry A. Cook).

1 and 2 were provided by Mr. Cook. In Plate 1, the photographs in the upper left and upper right were taken in 1976, after the hurricane but before the fire, when Mr. Cook and his wife visited the "old home place." The photograph in the lower left is a view of the front gate and the road to the McCalla place from the front porch of the "old home place." The date of this photograph is unknown. Plate 2, top, is a photograph of Ezekiel Clinkscales, his sister Leona Clinkscales, his sister-in-law Corrie Clinkscales, and a cousin Iola Ould, sitting on the front porch of the "old home place." Plate 2, bottom, is a photograph of Ezekiel and Jennie (Addie) Clinkscales standing next to the back steps of the house. The old "cook's house," or summer kitchen, is in the background. This photograph was taken sometime between 1936 and 1943. The top photograph probably also dates to sometime in that period.

In his genealogy on the Clinkscales, Mr. Cook included some memories of his visits to the farm as a child. These final pages provide a wonderful look at the farm from the eyes of a small boy:

When my sister, Kathleen, and I were growing children, our Mother always took us there for a month's vacation. It was divided--2 weeks at the "Old Home Place"--after 2 weeks at my gr. uncle Eugene's farm, 2 miles to the North.

Fruit was at its best in early July and we always went first to Uncle Eugene's for that reason. Mother and Aunt Corrie, his wife, spent their time together putting up pears, peaches, beans and such things in big Mason jars; in making jams and jellies of the abundant berries and grapes and watermelon rind pickle.

The big orchard was loaded with fruit for anyone to pick and eat who wished them. All were in great variety. Their flavors were delicious and there were no poison sprays to be washed off in those days!

Meanwhile, my Uncle "Dean's" twin sons, Ralph and Ray and their three little black "Bound boys"--all just my age--had been waiting eagerly for my arrival. My visit would be a sort of two week's vacation for them too, except for a few necessary chores given them each day.

Their farm adjoined that of the "Old Home Place" where a band of friendly Cherokee Indians had camped for many years in a cane brake on the "bottoms," down by the Savannah River. My uncles remembered them well. They had fished and hunted all along the River and their squaws had made wicker baskets and such things. Occasionally they sent delegations up the hill to the "Old Home Place" to trade for salt, cloth, and similar things. There had never been any trouble between these Indians and the Clinkscales in all the years they lived there. A State law finally moved them to a newly-created Cherokee



PLATE 2. Top: Ezekiel Clinkscales and Relatives on the Front Porch of the Clinkscales House (38AB287), Circa 1930s (Courtesy of Mr. Henry A. Cook). Bottom: Ezekiel and Jennie Clinkscales at the Rear of the Clinkscales House (38AB287), Circa 1930s (Courtesy of Mr. Henry A. Cook).

Reservation. But they did leave behind all kinds of stone arrow and tomahawk heads, partly buried in the sand, which were a constant stimulus to us to play at being Indians.

We had a copy of Ernest Thompson Seton's book "Two Little Savages" which was a kind of Bible to us. It was filled with drawings and descriptions of all kinds of Indian equipment: Tepees, head-dresses, moccasins, bows and arrows, etc. Our fervor to make all of these things was limited only by our extreme youth!

Another favorite and exciting sport for us was to fish and ride in the bateaux in Savannah River. But that required grown-up supervision. And sometimes we could persuade them to take us across the River on "Tucker's Ferry," not far up river.

Mr. Tucker, the ferryman, also had a sugar and syrup mill down at the ferry landing. We took our family cane down there to be extracted in a mule-powered rotary press. It was then boiled down to the desired consistency. Sugar had to be boiled longer.

When our stay at Uncle Dean's was over, we went to the "Old Home Place" and Uncle "Zeke's" for another two weeks. This time my sister had the playmate--little Julia Bell, just my age, and Mary Kate, a little black bound girl.

But my Uncle Zeke took me with him on his tours of the farm where gangs of men were at work in the fields. I rode behind my Uncle on his horse. He was a wonderfully kind and patient man and he became very fond of me, probably because he was unmarried then and had no boys of his own. We acquired a kind of sympathetic understanding that is rare in this workaday world.

When my Uncle was too busy to take me, I could play for hours alone about the farm and its interesting equipment. And since this equipment was the same at both places, I will now go back to my description of things at Uncle Dean's.

Everything about a big, working farm can be of interest to healthy, growing boys. The big barn, the hay in the loft above, the corn cribs, the farm implements in their sheds, the big lot with its high surrounding fence holding cows, calves, sheep, horses and mules, even an occasional bull, that could be safely watched through the fence!

To a young town-bred boy like me, both farms were endless sources of interest. Both had old steam engines, used occasionally to power the saw mills and sometimes to do threshing. We kids spent many hours playing on them and imagining ourselves engineers, driving them and blowing their whistles.

There were also the blacksmith shops, with their big bellows to fan the charcoal fires to the necessary white heat to make horseshoes and other implements.

Aunt Corrie, Ralph and Ray's mother, had another interesting hobby. Originally from Connecticut, she had known Ralph Tilley, the naturalist, and from him she had always on hand many peacocks that strutted about displaying their gorgeous plumage, geese, ducks and Guineas and, of course, lots of chickens to supply eggs for our morning breakfasts.

Our sleeping accommodations were something to write about! We had a large bedroom assigned to all of the young boys. Ralph, Ray and I slept on the big double bed, while three little black "bound boys" slept in trundle beds which were pulled out from under the big bed each night. When the lights were put out by our parents, the little black boys would become completely invisible. Then they would sneak up to us, grab at our toes and tickle us, accompanied by much giggling, until the door would suddenly open and the grownups would storm in and quiet us down until peace would reign again!

Then in the quiet night, we could occasionally hear the Seaboard Railroad trains over in Georgia blowing for their crossings, on their way to and from Atlanta.

I have long ago decided that railroad engineers are really big kids at heart. They love to play tunes on their whistles as they rush headlong through the night. They strike a tremendous response in the hearts of small boys, lucky enough to hear them on a dark night!

Then we would lie there and talk of being railroad engineers ourselves, when we grew up. Ralph really did become one but had to give it up when the responsibilities of the farm finally fell on his shoulders.

Eventually, Ray went into railroading, too. He spent the rest of his active life working as a conductor for the Piedmont and Northern Railroad. But he maintained a business relationship with Ralph, who operated a cattle feeding operation on the combined farms.

But this was to be much later. For now, we would play at trains in the sand of the yard.

Mother always got me two pairs of nice, stiff blue jeans overalls at the beginning of each of our visits to the farms. I lived in these. By the visit's end, they were soft and faded, a couple of sizes smaller, and liberally covered with patches here and there (Cook 1980:153-156).

GILBERT GRAY SITE (9EB45) AND FAMILY HISTORY

Very little is known about Gilbert Gray or his occupancy of this site. The lack of information about Gray is characteristic of the historical treatment afforded to many blacks at the turn of the twentieth century. Many people like Gilbert Gray have gone through an entire life-time in this country leaving almost nothing behind them as a record of their existence. Perhaps we are lucky in having as much information about the Gilbert Gray site as we do.

According to census records for 1870, 1880, and 1900, Gilbert Gray was born a slave in September 1852. His mother's name was probably Harriet Gray, who in 1870 was 55 years old and working as a farm laborer. In 1870, Gilbert was listed as being an apprentice blacksmith, his older brother, George, was a mechanic [?], and his sister or sister-in-law, Mary, aged 18, was a farm laborer. Other members of the household were Hanah [sic], aged 16; Mary, aged 6; Sarah, aged 2; and Cresia, 6 months old. George, Gilbert, and Sarah were listed as being mulattos; the others were listed as blacks.

By 1880, Gilbert had apparently set up his own household. The census for that year states that he was a farmer, and that he could read and write. He was living with a woman named Clarisa Jones; four children named Lon, Gussie, Georgine, and Charles; and an 18-year-old man named Harrison Hunter, a farm laborer. All of the other members of the household except for Gilbert Gray were listed as servants in their relationship to him. It is not known whether the four children were Clarisa's children and/or Gilbert's, or someone else's. The 1880 agricultural census showed that Gilbert was renting an unknown amount of land on a fixed cash basis. His livestock, consisting of 2 mules or asses and 1 milk cow, were valued at \$150. All of the other entries on the form were left blank.

In the 1900 population census, Gilbert was still renting his farm. He and Clarisa, who was listed as a widow, had two sons: Harvey Jones, who was born in February 1882, and Grady Jones, born August 1884. Also included in the household was a "grandson" named Willie Jones, aged 10. It is not known who Willie's parents were. Clarisa's occupation was listed as that of a cook, and the three boys were employed as farm laborers.

According to oral history accounts, Gilbert Gray was apparently a "high yellow" black who, in later years, tried to pass himself off as a white person. He was very concerned about status and appearances. One anecdote is that he would make Clarisa (Classie), his common-law black wife, walk the last mile to church so that they would not be seen driving to church together (R. Bullard, personal communication). It is also telling that his sons bore their mother's surname, rather than Gilbert's.

In 1909, Gilbert Gray bought 143-3/4 acres of land from C.F. Marshall of Fulton County, Georgia, for the sum of \$1,600.00 (Elbert County Deeds, Volume YY, Page 155). This land had apparently been bought by

Marshall from Mrs. Mary Langston of Elbert County sometime between 1901 and 1909, because in December of 1901, the same tract of land was sold to Mrs. Langston by the heirs of J.A. Verdel (Elbert County Deeds, Volume RR, Page 545). According to the latter deed, the heirs of the J.A. Verdel estate (Mattie A. Verdel, E.A. Verdel, Ethel Speer, and Gordon Speer) chose to divide the Verdel land into at least three lots, presumably with the intent to sell either all or all but one of them, with the proceeds to be divided among them. Lot Number 2, consisting of 143-3/4 acres, was sold to Mrs. Langston. It was bounded on the south by Beaverdam Creek, on the north by lands of J.W. McCalla (Isaac McCalla's brother), and on the east and west by other lands of the Verdel estate (Figure 5). According to local informants, the road to the old Verdel house is located east of the Gilbert Gray site (R. Ballard, personal communication), or where Lot Number 1 was located on Figure 5.

Even though Gilbert Gray did not buy this tract of land until 1909, he may have been sharecropping or renting it as early as 1903. Prior to 1903, there are no tax returns listed for Gilbert Gray from Elbert County. However, between 1903 and 1909 he was listed variously as having 140, 143, and 144 acres (Elbert County Tax Digests). What is interesting, moreover, is that Gilbert Gray was apparently paying taxes on the value of this land between 1903 and 1909, even though he did not own it. The possibility exists that Gray owned other land before purchasing Lot Number 2 of the Verdel estate, but there is no documentation to support this. The most plausible explanation is that a part of Gray's rental agreement for this land was that he was responsible for the taxes on the land, and that he began occupying Lot Number 2 of the Verdel estate as early as 1903. A 1905 map of Elbert County, nevertheless, does not show Gilbert Gray as occupying this or any other tract of land (Figure 6). The accuracy of the map must be questioned, however, since the White farm is also not shown.

A complete search of the Elbert County Tax Digests, which have been collected on microfilm at the Georgia Department of Archives and History, has provided the best information on Gilbert Gray's occupancy of this site (Table 15). As stated earlier, no tax returns exist for Gilbert Gray prior to 1903. If Gray was indeed renting Lot Number 2 of the Verdel estate prior to purchasing it in 1909, then the tax returns show that he had his best year, economically, prior to buying the land. In 1907 Gray's property was valued at \$827. This included a real estate value of \$648, livestock worth \$150, and other personal property valued at \$29. After this year Gray's property value continued to decrease year after year until in 1912, no tax return was filed at all.

It appears that Gilbert Gray lost his land sometime between 1912 and 1914. His 1914 tax return listed only household/kitchen furniture valued at \$25, livestock valued at \$100, and other personal property worth \$5, for a total property value of \$130 (Elbert County Tax Digests). Local tradition has it that Gilbert lost his property when he could not continue to meet his mortgage payments. Apparently, Gilbert had originally lived on the south side of the road leading from Beaverdam Creek to Heardmont, but then he later built a house just north of the road where Site 9EB45 is located. It is rumored that "Uncle Gil-

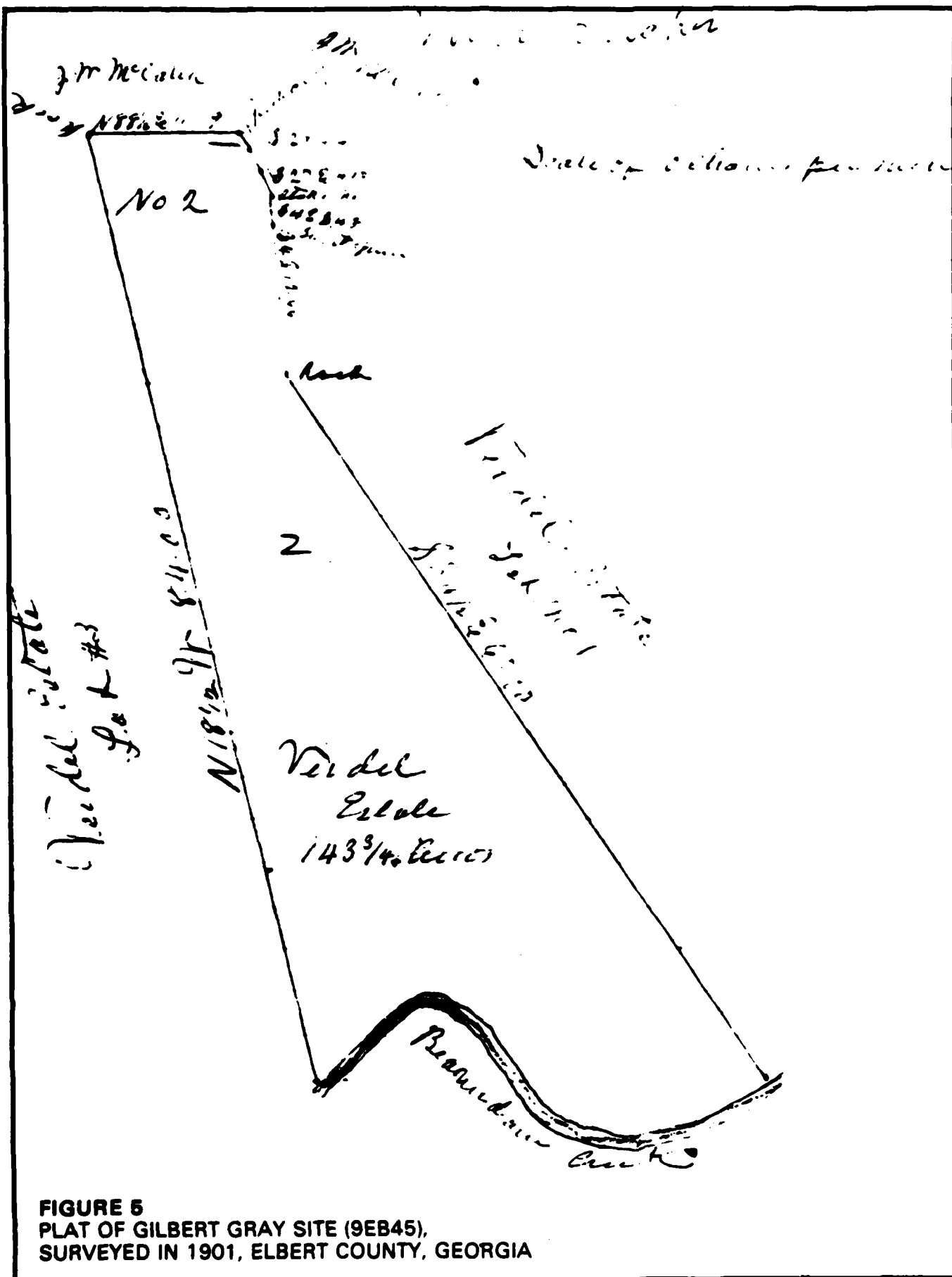


FIGURE 5
 PLAT OF GILBERT GRAY SITE (9EB45),
 SURVEYED IN 1901, ELBERT COUNTY, GEORGIA



FIGURE 6
A PORTION OF THE 1905 MAP OF ELBERT COUNTY, GEORGIA, BY J.W. BAKER

Table 15. Gilbert Gray's Tax Returns for the Period 1903 - 1921.

	<u>1903</u>	<u>1904</u>	<u>1905</u>	<u>1906</u>	<u>1907</u>	<u>1908</u>	<u>1909</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1911</u>	
Poll Tax	\$ 1	\$ 1	\$ 1	\$ 1	\$ 1	\$ 1	\$ 1	\$ 1	\$ 1	
Acres of Land	140	140	140	140	144	143	143	144	143	
Value of Land	\$560	\$560	\$560	\$560	\$648	\$643	\$643	\$648	\$643	
Household/Kitchen Furniture	\$ 25	\$ 10	\$ 8	\$ 5	\$ 10	\$ 20	\$ 20	\$ 10	\$ 10	
Horses, Cattle, & Stock, all Kinds	\$ 10	\$ 25	\$ 75	\$ 80	\$150	\$120	\$ 50	\$ 54	\$ 63	
Plantation & Mechanical Tools	0	\$ 2	0	0	\$ 19	\$ 29	\$ 12	\$ 20	\$ 15	
Value of Other Property	0	\$ 8	\$ 13	\$ 17	0	0	0	0	0	
Aggregate Value of Whole Property	\$595	\$605	\$656	\$662	\$827	\$812	\$725	\$732	\$731	
Single Value Property of Defaulters	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	<u>1912</u>	<u>1913</u>	<u>1914</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1916</u>	<u>1917</u>	<u>1918</u>	<u>1919</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1921</u>
Poll Tax	0	0	\$ 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Acres of Land	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Value of Land	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Household/Kitchen Furniture	0	0	\$ 25	0	\$ 15	\$ 15	\$ 20	\$ 20	\$ 30	\$ 35
Horses, Cattle, & Stock, all Kinds	0	0	\$100	0	0	\$ 53	\$ 65	\$ 70	\$100	\$155
Plantation & Mechanical Tools	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	\$ 5	\$ 10	\$ 20
Value of Other Property	0	0	\$ 5	0	0	0	0	0	\$ 2	\$ 2
Aggregate Value of Whole Property	0	0	\$130	0	\$ 15	\$ 68	\$ 85	\$190	\$140	\$210
Single Value Property of Defaulters	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	\$ 95	\$161	0

bert" had saved up a bag of silver to use in payment for his land, and had buried it at the old house site, but then forgot where he had buried it (R. Bullard, personal communication). Whether this is true or not, Gilbert Gray did lose his land by 1914, and was never able to regain his former prosperity, such as it had been.

Rufus Bullard remembers that after Gilbert Gray was forced out of his house, he moved into a couple of different shacks, including one along the Seaboard Air Line railroad tracks, until he died in the early 1920s (R. Bullard, personal communication). Bullard was not sure in what year Gilbert Gray died, but the tax returns for Gray end abruptly after 1921. It appears, then, that he died in late 1921 or 1922. There are no probate records available concerning Gilbert Gray's death.

After Gray moved out of the house at Site 9EB45, it was occupied by a series of tenants (Joe Edwards, John Taylor, and Fletcher Bolton). According to Rufus and Bridie Bullard (personal communication 1981), the house was being used for hay storage when it burned sometime between 1925 and 1930. After the site was abandoned as a farm, it was used as a timber plantation until purchased by the Corps of Engineers in 1978.

HARPER SITE (38AB21) AND FAMILY HISTORY

The origins of the Harper site (38AB21), earliest of the sites under investigation, still remain partially unknown despite exhaustive research. The first known inhabitants of the site were Lyndsey Harper and his wife, Jane Harris Harper, whose presence at the site can be positively documented as early as 1817, according to inscriptions on stones in the family cemetery. Their oldest son, Job W., was born in 1808 and died in 1817. His is the earliest marked grave in the cemetery. However, the possibility exists that Lyndsey and/or Jane may have occupied the site as early as, if not earlier than, 1808.

Lyndsey Harper's father, Henry Harper, moved to Edinburgh, Georgia, from Albemarle County, Virginia, sometime prior to 1792. He apparently started a ferry in Edinburgh. In 1797 he bought two town lots, 13 and 14, in Alexandria, Georgia (near Edinburgh), from John McGowen. Then, in 1807 he and his wife sold 129 acres on the Georgia side of the Savannah River to Peter Alexander, and apparently moved to the South Carolina side of the river. The original Harper's Ferry later became known as McGowen's Ferry and as Bowman's Ferry (Carroll 1979:10).

Early in 1808, Lyndsey Harper married Jane Harris. She was the daughter of Dr. John Harris and Sarah Hamilton Harris, and her maternal grandparents were Major Andrew Hamilton and Jane McGill Hamilton of Abbeville (Carroll 1979:11). It is possible that when Lyndsey married Jane (Jenny), he may have moved to her family's house. The strongest evidence for this is the inscription on Jenny Harper's gravestone that reads "she was born, lived, and died within 300 yards of her grave." However, a search of the probate records for all of the persons named "John Harris" who lived during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries failed to reveal any relationships between a John Harris and a wife named Sarah or a daughter named Jane. Thus, it

remains unknown whether Jane and Lyndsey Harper either inherited or bought the land from her father. It is known, however, that Jane Harris Harper was not related in any way to the Reverend John Harris, as has been suggested by the historian for the Historic American Buildings Survey. The Reverend Harris owned large amounts of land in Abbeville District and served as pastor of the Rocky River Presbyterian Church from 1772 to 1779 (Carroll 1979:34). However, a book entitled Jane Harris of Rocky River: She Linked the Carolinas (Reyes 1964) gives the entire genealogy for the Reverend Harris' family, and Jane Harris Harper is not listed as a relative, even peripherally.

There is some additional circumstantial evidence, nevertheless, to support the contention that Lyndsey Harper moved to his wife's family's house and/or land when they married. The 1810 population census for Abbeville District has separate listings for Henry Harper and for Lyndsey Harper. At that time, Henry Harper and his wife were both listed as being over 45 years old. Their household also included one free white male under 10 years old, one free white male between the ages of 16 and 26, one free white female between the ages of 10 and 16, and three free white females between the ages of 16 and 26. They owned no slaves. Lyndsey Harper's census listing for 1810, on the other hand, reported one free white male between the ages of 26 and 45 (presumably Lyndsey, who would have been 31), one free white female between the ages of 16 and 26 (Jane would have been 23), one free white female between the ages of 10 and 16, one free white male between the ages of 16 and 26, and two free white males under 10 years of age. The latter two were probably Lyndsey's and Jane's sons, Job (born in 1808) and John (born in 1810). It is not known who the other two people were. Lyndsey's household was also listed as having one free person of color and one slave.

If Jane Harper was indeed born in the same house that was occupied by three later generations of Harpers, then the house could conceivably have been built as early as 1787. Another possibility is that Jane was born in a different house, and the known Harper house was built by Lyndsey after he moved to the site. This has not been verified either archaeologically or historically, however. According to a local informant, Mr. T.H. (Horace) Waters (personal communication 1982), the Harper house was built around 1817. His father apparently recovered the roof with pine shingles in 1889. At this time, Mrs. Harper [possibly Elvira Brownlee Harper] reportedly said that the house was 72 years old and that this was the first time that it had been reshingled. Therefore, the most positive statement that can be made is that the Harper site was definitely occupied by 1817, and the possibility exists that it was occupied as early as 1787.

The 1820 map of Abbeville County (see Figure 3) that was printed in the 1825 Mills' Atlas of South Carolina shows the Harpers living at the confluence of Ross' Creek and the Savannah River, where the Harper site is located. However, no mention was made on the map of a ferry operation at this location. McGowen's Ferry, further upriver, is shown on the map. The earliest evidence for a Harper's Ferry at its present location is the 1836 map that accompanied a petition to the South Carolina legislature requesting a road closure between the Savannah River and the Rocky River (see Figure 9). Although the ferry location itself is not shown, one of the roads on the map is labelled "to Harper's Ferry." This ferry operated continuously until 1928.

By 1820, according to the population census of that year, Lyndsey Harper's slave holdings had increased substantially over what was listed in the 1810 census. In 1820, he was recorded as owning five male slaves between the ages of 14 and 16, two female slaves between the ages of 14 and 16, and one female slave between the ages of 16 and 45. Also listed as a part of the household were four free persons of color: one under 14 years of age, two between 14 and 16, and one between 16 and 45.

Between 1820 and 1840, according to population censuses, the total number of slaves owned by Lyndsey Harper did not change, although the ratios of men to women did. Thus, there appears to have been very little growth in the size or complexity of the farm until after 1840. Between 1840 and 1850, however, Lyndsey Harper's property holdings appear to have grown considerably, as can be observed in his estate records.

Lyndsey Harper died in 1850, and was buried in the family cemetery, located on a knoll between the house and the river. In his will (Abbeville County Probate, Box 156, Packet 3669), he left to his wife, Jane, for her use during her life or widowhood, the plantation on which they lived up to Ross' Creek, and the fresh field and timber above the creek, with the stipulation that she keep up and repair the fence around the field. At her death or remarriage, this land was to be divided equally among their children (William H., Martha G. Oliver, Ezekiel W., James C., Lyndsey R.A., and Henry H.B.) and among the children of their son, John A.H., and their daughter, Sarah H. McGehee, who were to split their parents' shares equally among themselves. Figure 7 shows the Harper family genealogy.

He reserved from the above bequest one acre of land around the existing graveyard that was to be used as a family cemetery. He also reserved 3/4 acre around the graveyard at the Ridge Meeting House, the meeting house itself, and its path to the spring for as long as it remained a place of public worship by the Methodists or by any other Christian sect or denomination. At that time, the Ridge Meeting House was a log structure located approximately 3/4 mile southeast of the Harper main house complex. Portions of this structure are still intact, along with the associated cemetery (J. Cobb, personal communication 1983). This means that, at his death, Lyndsey probably owned land all the way from Ross' Creek south to the site of the original Ridge Church, and from the river east for a distance of at least one mile, if not farther.

Lyndsey then willed to his son, James C., if the latter so desired, all of the remaining lands north of Ross' Creek, known as part of the Wooldridge tract, to be accounted for at \$7 per acre. If James did not want the land at these terms, then it was to be sold along with the remaining lands, houses, and town lots that Lyndsey owned, and the proceeds divided equally as described above, with his wife, Jane Harper, also receiving an equal share. Also to be sold, with the proceeds being divided equally, were all of Lyndsey's slaves, livestock, and other personal property. The amounts of money that were to be received by the children of John A.H. Harper and Sarah H. McGehee, both of whom lived in Georgia, Lyndsey Harper directed to be invested in slaves.

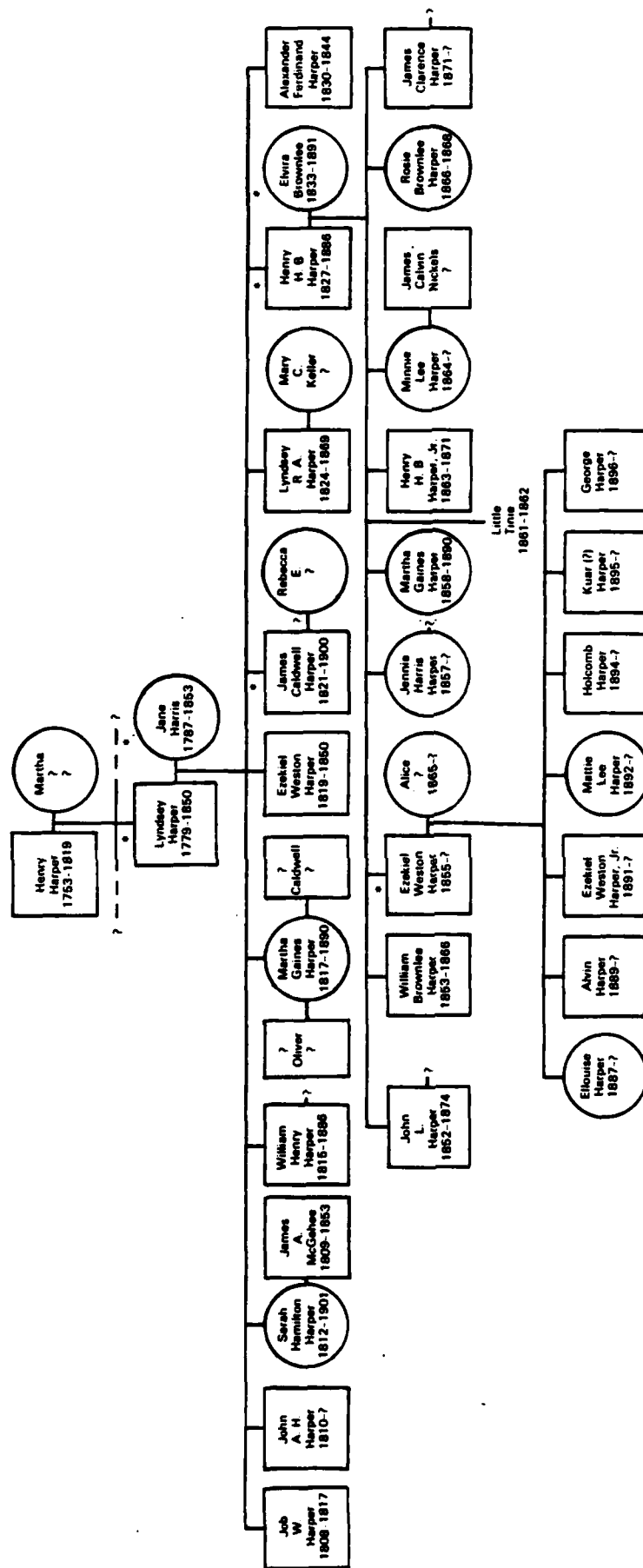


FIGURE 7
GENEALOGY OF THE HARPER FAMILY

* = Land Ownership of Site 38AB21

Upon Lyndsey's death, his personal property was inventoried and appraised (Table 16). The inventory is probably the most valuable of all that were used during this investigation in terms of aiding in the

Table 16. An Inventory of the Personal Property of Lyndsey Harper deceased.

	\$ cts		\$ cts
Dining room Furniture	134 55	Eight Milk cows with calves	64 00
Hall Room "	149 00	One yoke of oxen	30 00
Parlor " "	134 00	Twelve head of dry cattle	48 00
The North Corner Bed Room		One lot of hogs	72 00
Furniture	30 00	" lot of sheep	73 75
The North Upper Room		" " " old corn 232 bu	
Furniture	171 00	at 50 cts per bu	116 00
The Family bed Chamber		" " " new corn 756 bu	
Furniture	47 00	at 62½ pr bu	570 00
One fine silver lever Watch	40 00	" " " fodder Supposed	
The right hand shed room		900 lbs at 62½ pr wt (?)	56 25
Furniture	40 00	" " " Bacon Supposed	
The left hand shed room		1200 lbs at 8 cts pr lb	96 00
Furniture	12 00	" " " Lard Supposed	
Front Piazza Furniture	6 00	100 lbs at 8 cts pr lb	8 00
The little room "	2 00	" " " Tallow Supposed	
The upper south Room "	90 00	35 lbs at 10 cts pr lb	3 50
Kitchen Furniture	62 62½	" " " Shelled peas Sup-	
Smoke House furniture	2 00	posed 45 bu at 50 cts pr	
Milk House Articles	70 00	bu	22 50
A young boy, Peter	800 00	" " " Oats in the sheaf	60 00
" " " Anderson	1000 00	Shucks in the pen	2 00
" " " Solomon	550 00	One first rate set of Carpen-	
" " " Ben	550 00	ter's tools	39 75
A young girl, Eliza	630 00	Two cross cut saws	6 00
" " " Margarette	565 00	" Grind stones	2 50
" " " Lucy	450 00	" Cutting blades	1 75
" " " Mary Ann	400 00	One lot of Barrel staves	3 00
An old man Jim	400 00	Two large poplar troughs	2 00
A diseased woman Aggy	251 00	One lot of coal	8 00
A woman Blanc & child		" " " Bar iron	32 50
Martha	700 00	" " " Old iron & three	
" " Elizabeth & two		iron wedges	5 00
children Angeline &		One set of Smith's tools	40 00
Reuben	1200 00	One half keg of nails	2 50
A young boy Monk	800 00	" Barouche and harness	125 00
John & Charlotte Old people	2 00	A couple of ox-carts	30 00
Jack An old man	1 00	A little one horse wagon	40 00
One Bay horse Dave	30 00	One lot of Sundries	2 00
One Sorrel Mare Bimcomb	20 00	" " " Hogheads	3 00
One Grey horse, Tom	50 00	" " " Lumber	8 50
One Large Bay Horse, Bob	50 00	A couple of log chains	3 00

Table 16 (concluded)

One lot of bees and hives	10 00	Two knives for currying and	
One lot of Plough-irons		preparing leather	1 00
Stocks & swingletrees	27 00		
" " " Spades hoes axes			
& crow-bars	11 00		
" " " Plough Gear	5 00		
One Cutting knife and wheat			
fan	10 00		

We the undersigned appraisers being duly qualify & do certify that we have appraised the personal Estate of Lyndsey Harper deceased as showed us by The Exrs of Said Estate according to the foregoing Inventory 9th May 1850.

Wm Speer	
Alex. Oliver	Qualify ^d
Peter S. Burton	Appraisers

interpretation of the archaeological remains. In most of the inventories studied, household furniture was lumped together as a single entry. However, this inventory lists the furniture by room. Thus, it can be observed that the house had a dining room, a parlor, a hall, a north corner bedroom, a north upper room, a south upper room, a family bed chamber, a front piazza, and a little room. Apparently attached to the house was a shed with two rooms. Other structures that can be identified from the inventory were a kitchen, a smokehouse, a milk house, and a blacksmith shop.

As stated earlier, it appears that during the decade between 1840 and 1850, Lyndsey Harper's property holdings increased substantially. In 1840, he was listed as having 8 slaves; in his 1850 estate inventory were listed 19 slaves. This number, however, included three who were so old that their value was appraised at \$1 each.

The sale bill from Lyndsey Harper's estate provides even greater detail on the types and amounts of property that were included in the estate (Table 17). Eleven slaves were sold at the auction (Henry H.B. Harper bought six of those), and Jane Harper bought the remaining eight slaves at appraisement, including the three old people. She also bought at appraisement two horses, the household and kitchen furniture, and a town lot worth \$200. Henry Harper bought what was called the Manning tract of land, consisting of 227 acres, for \$3.05 an acre.

An interesting aspect to Lyndsey Harper's estate papers is that he was apparently involved in lending money to quite a few individuals. Included in the estate documentation are several pages listing the notes that Lyndsey had from other people: their names, the date of each note, the amount of each note, and whether the redemption of the note was good, bad, or doubtful. It is unknown where Lyndsey obtained the ready cash to be able to conduct his money-lending practice, unless he was perhaps involved in land speculation or was a very successful farmer.

Table 17. Amount of Sale of the Personal Estate of Lyndsey Harper
Deceased Made Jan 7th 1851.

		\$ cts
H H Harper	Smith Tools	26.00
"	Old Irons	.50
"	" "	.55
"	" "	.50
J C Harper	" "	.62
H H Harper	" "	.50
"	80 lb Iron per lb 4c	3.20
"	54 lb " " " 4½c	2.43
"	100 lb " " " 4c	4.00
"	3 Iron wedges	2.06
"	46 lb Raw Hides pr lb 10½c	4.83
"	Drawing Horse	.50
"	Lot of coal	9.25
"	85 lb of Iron pr lb 4½c	3.72½
"	125 lb " " " " 4c	5.00
G W Huckabee	69 lb " " " " "	2.76
H H Harper	84 lb " " " " 5½c	4.42
G W Huckabee	200 ft plank pr hundred 68c	1.36
H H Harper	Lot of plank	1.25
J C Harper	Lot of staves	3.00
H H Harper	240 ft of plank pr H 68c	1.36
William H Harper	Lot of Gun Stocks	.05
H H Harper	Broad axe	3.25
"	Hand "	1.25
"	Jointer etc.	2.00
"	Lot of Carpenter's tools	10.75
"	Goard [sic] & contents	.25
"	Brace & Bits	4.00
H H Harper	Lot of Tools	3.75
"	Turning Tools	1.12
"	Tenant Saw etc.	1.75
"	Foot Ads [sic] saw etc	1.12
"	Two Curryng Knives	2.37
"	Cross cut saw	4.00
"	Two Grind Stones	2.75
W H Harper	Cross cut saw	3.00
W H Caldwell	Cutting Blades etc	1.12
W H Harper	Ox bowes [sic] etc	.68
J C Harper	Walnut plank	.50
	Amt Carried forward	\$121.52½ cts
	Amt Brought forward	121.52½
H H Harper	one box of match planes	8.50
J C Harper	Scythe Cradle	.50
H H Harper	" "	2.00
"	" "	3.12

Table 17 (continued)

		\$ Cts
H H Harper	Scythe Cradle	3.62
"	Plow Gear	.50
"	" "	.87½
I Latimer	Carriage Bridle	.50
H H Harper	Plow gear	.50
"	" "	1.18
"	Barrel of Limes &c	.25
"	50 lb leather	7.00
"	Lot of plows	.62
J C Harper	28 lb of Leather pr lb 14¢	3.92
"	10 lb " " pr lb 24¢	2.40
H H Harper	Lot of plow irons	4.00
"	"	2.50
"	"	3.25
W H Harper	"	1.00
"	"	1.00
H H Harper	Gofers [?]	.75
"	Lot "	3.75
J C Harper	Log chain	3.00
W H Harper	" "	.93
H H Harper	Lot of hoes	4.00
"	" " "	2.12
"	Shovel & spades	2.37
"	Crowbars	1.37
L R A Harper	Iron pitch fork	2.00
H H Harper	Lot of axes	2.50
"	Plough Stocks	4.87½
"	" "	3.62
"	Harrows &c	2.25
"	Barrels nails &c	3.00
"	Carriage & harness	56.00
W H Harper	One horse wagon	50.00
H H Harper	Ox cart	29.00
A Harper	" "	15.00
H H Harper	One yoke of oxen	49.00
J C Harper	4 Yearlings	8.50
N I Deal	1 cow	5.00
	Ampt Carried forward	\$417.79½
	Ampt Brought forward	\$417.79½
H H Harper	3 yearlings	7.00
"	2 "	6.00
"	1 Steer and cow	16.00
"	1 Bull	11.00
"	15 Sheep	15.00
"	2600 lb of pork pr lb 5¢	130.00
J C Harper	880 lb " " pr lb 5¢	44.00
H H Harper	Sow and pigs	3.75
"	5 Shoats	13.50
"	5 "	13.73
"	3 "	8.25
J C Harper	5 "	11.50
"	500 Brick pr Hundred \$1.12½	5.62½

Table 17 (continued)

		\$ Cts
H H Harper	Lot of Bee gums [?]	.50
"	Dryers benches & plank	2.12
"	4 Kegs	1.25
"	2 "	.25
"	1 cow & calf	9.50
"	" "	5.00
"	" "	9.50
Dr.	" "	7.00
Isaac Carolile	" "	9.00
J C Harper	" "	9.50
H H Harper	" "	7.75
"	1 Mare Bimcomb	25.00
Th's Deal	1 pen of shreck [?]	2.00
H H Harper	83 doz of oats pr doz 31½¢	25.31
John Grant	100 lb of fodder pr lb 61¢	6.10
H H Harper	1287 lb " " " 38¢	4.89
"	340 lb " " " 42¢	1.42
"	2540 lb " " " 62¢	15.74
W Prater	700 lb " " " 55¢	3.85
John Eaton	750 lb " " " 35¢	2.62½
W Heown	1320 lb " " " 51¢	6.73
Thomas Deal	1000 lb " " " 32¢	3.20
J C Harper	980 lb " " " 37½¢	3.67
James Clark	2500 lb " " " 34¢	8.50
H H Harper	300 bu of corn pr bu 90¢	270.00
"	40 bu " " " 88¢	35.20
"	158 bu " " " 94¢	148.52
"	94 bu Refused corn " 37½¢	35.25
N I Deal	43 bu " " " 64	27.44
	Ampt Carried forward	\$1390.98½
	Ampt Brought forward	\$1390.98½
Milton Tucker	40 bu of corn pr bu 1.00	40.00
"	" " " " " 1.00	40.00
J R M Rucker	40 bu " " " " 1.00	40.00
"	" " " " " 1.00	40.00
A Bailly	Two Load Shuck pr	3.50
John Eaton	1 Load " " 1.30	1.30
H H Harper	Balance " "	3.25
"	2 hhds	.50
"	10 bu of hemp pr bu 90¢	9.00
"	1 Wheat Fan	14.50
"	1 Lot of Pea huls [sic]	2.75
"	4 hhds	2.55
"	1 Cutting Rack	.87½
J C Harper	3 Barrels	1.00
"	2 " and Bran	4.00
H H Harper	Lot of Shucks &c	.50
Dr. Lundy	10 bu Wheat pr bu \$1.16	11.60
W Heown	" " " " " 1.14	11.40
R H Pettigrew	" " " " " 1.14	11.40
"	" " " " " 1.13½	11.35

Table 17 (continued)

		\$ Cts
J C Harper	20 bu " " " 1.14	22.80
H H Harper	50 bu " " " 1.14	57.00
"	Lot of Cotton Seed	19.00
J C Harper	4 Hampers	.62
H H Harper	Balance of hampers	.62
"	Gin & Band	77.75
"	Small Steelyards	1.06
W H Harper	Large "	3.00
Henry H Harper	Bought Anderson	1200.00
"	" Jim	605.00
B H Pettigrew	" Monk	1000.00
H H Harper	" Elizabeth and two children Angeline & Reuben	2500.00
John Martin	" Ben	900.00
Wm Cleveland	" Solomon	1000.00
H H Harper	" Aggy	395.00
J A H Harper	" Peter for minor legatees	1100.00
J C Harper	" Eliza	810.00

(Section crossed out re Jane Harper taking some slaves at appraisalment; also two horses and the household and kitchen furniture)

Henry H Harper	" Bought the Manning Tract of Land Containing 227 acres at \$3.05 per acre	692.35
----------------	--	--------

(Section crossed out re Jane Harper buying lot of land)

State So Carolina
 Abbeville District I do certify to the above as a correct bill of
 of the Sale of the Property Pertaining to
 the Estate of Lyndsay [sic] Harper, late of the State and District
 aforsaid [sic] on the 7th Jany 1851.

John C. Mauldin
 Clk.

The Widow Jane Harper	One Negro girl Margret taken at the appraisalment [sic]	565.00
"	Jane & child Martha	700.00
"	Girl Lucy	450.00
"	" Mary Ann	400.00
"	Bay Horse Bob	50.00
"	" Grey horse	50.00

Table 17 (concluded)

		\$ Cts
The Widow Jane Harper	House hold & kitchen	
"	furniture	918.67½
"	One Old negro John	1.00
"	" " " Jack	1.00
"	" " " Charlotte	1.00
		<u>\$3136.67½</u>

Some of the notes, however, dated to as early as 1831, indicating that Lyndsey had a long history of money-lending. However, most of the notes were dated between 1840 and 1850, the period during which Lyndsey achieved his greatest prosperity.

The returns on the estate show that a number of the abovementioned notes were redeemed by the estate. Other income listed in the estate documentation for 1850 included \$298.31 for 281 bushels of corn, \$59.20 for oats, \$2,549.44 for 55 bales of cotton, and \$195 for 30 barrels of flour. Expenses incurred by the estate during 1850 included \$.50 for one dozen oranges for Jane Harper, \$2.00 for a box of raisins, \$.50 for two pounds of candy, \$5.00 for a bonnet, \$6.00 for a coffin, and \$7.00 for freight costs on the cotton. Also included as estate payments were differing amounts to several people who were listed as "landlord" or "landlady." This could be interpreted in two ways: either Lyndsey Harper was renting a lot of land and/or town lots himself and these amounts could be considered rents, which is doubtful, or Lyndsey owned a lot of property in various places and paid these people to take care of his property, which is more likely. One person was listed as being in Augusta, and another listing showed that property taxes were paid for an unspecified amount of land in Elberton. This may have been the town lot and house that William H. Harper bought from the estate in 1853 for \$1,152.25.

The 1851 return on the estate showed that James C. Harper did indeed buy the land known as the Wooldridge tract, consisting of 374 acres, for \$7.00 per acre. Money paid out of the estate during that year and in 1852 included \$80.00 for a cotton gin, \$120 for one panelled tombstone, \$10.62 for freight on the tombstone, \$8.37 for rope, and \$8.00 for a land survey.

The 1850 population census was apparently taken after Lyndsey Harper's death. It lists as head of household Jane Harper, whose real estate was valued at \$1,600. It is not known to what tract or lot of land this figure refers. Also living at home were her sons, Ezekiel W., a teacher, and Henry H.B., listed as a farmer. The slave schedule for that year showed that Lyndsey Harper's estate included 18 slaves, and that Henry H.B. Harper owned 3 slaves.

The 1850 agricultural census shows that Henry H.B. Harper was managing the farm for his mother (Table 18). According to the farm schedule, the plantation included 800 acres, of which 165 were improved.

The census return also shows that the Harpers produced a large amount of corn, wheat, oats, and a fair amount of cotton.

Table 18. Henry Harper's 1850 Agricultural Census Return.

Acres of improved land	165	
Acres of unimproved land	635	
Cash value of farm		\$8,000
Cash value of farm implements/machinery		250
Horses	6	
Asses and mules	2	
Milk cows	5	
Working oxen	2	
Other cattle	30	
Sheep	18	
Swine	11	
Cash value of livestock		840
Value of animals slaughtered		[illegible]
Wool (pounds)	40	
Butter (pounds)	200	
Beeswax and honey (pounds)	120	
Value of homemade manufactures		125
Wheat (bushels)	200	
Rye (bushels)	6	
Indian corn (bushels)	1500	
Oats (bushels)	200	
Cotton (bales)	19	
Peas and beans (bushels)	70	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	10	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	40	

Jane Harper died in 1853 and was also buried in the family cemetery. She, too, left a will in which she directed that all of her real and personal estate be sold, and the proceeds be divided in the same manner as was stated in Lyndsey Harper's will. She also asked that the shares allotted to the children of John A.H. Harper and Sarah Harper McGehee be invested in slaves, and she gave her slave, Margarett, to the children of John A.H. Harper.

The inventory (Table 19) and sale bill (Table 20) of Jane Harper's estate provide an interesting contrast to those of Lyndsey's estate. The articles included in Lyndsey Harper's estate were primarily tools, implements, and farm equipment. Jane Harper's personal estate, on the other hand, consisted primarily of household and kitchen articles. An interesting aspect to the sale bill is the type of books that were sold. These included several biographies, the "Life of Christ," a dictionary, a four-volume history set, a book on the Greek Revolution, and others.

The returns on Jane Harper's estate included \$127.00 paid for two tombstones (the second was probably for Ezekiel W. Harper, who also died in 1850), a medical bill of \$148.50, and \$130.00 for still another tombstone.

In 1856, Henry H.B. Harper bought the land that had been left to Jane Harper by Lyndsey Harper in his will. This was all of the land south of Ross' Creek, consisting of 703½ acres. Henry Harper bought this land for \$5,626, or \$8 per acre. If this acreage is added to that bought by James C. Harper (374 acres), and the Manning tract (227 acres), also bought by Henry Harper, then it appears that Lyndsey Harper, at the time of his death, owned at least 1,304½ acres, plus assorted other pieces of land and town lots of unknown acreages.

An 1856 tax return (S.C. Comptroller General 1856) for Henry Harper shows that he paid a tax of \$75 on 705 acres and 34 slaves. It appears that, by this time, he had sold the Manning tract of land that he had bought from his father's estate, and only owned the tract of land south of Ross' Creek. In the six years between 1850 and 1856, moreover, he had increased his slaveholdings from 3 to 34.

On the eve of the Civil War, Henry Harper apparently had real estate valued at \$21,000, and a personal estate valued at \$33,038 (U.S. Bureau of Census 1860). By this time, he and his wife, Elvira Brownlee Harper, had five children. Also included in the Harper household during the 1860 census was M. McD. McGee, aged 24 years, who served as Harper's overseer. According to the slave schedule for that year, Harper owned 42 slaves, who were living in 7 houses. His 1860 agricultural census return showed him to own 1,400 acres, of which 400 were improved, and reported that he produced 30 bales of cotton that year (Table 21).

Henry H.B. Harper, in addition to being a successful planter, was also involved in politics throughout portions of his life. He was first elected to sit in the South Carolina House of Representatives during its 43rd General Assembly in 1858 and 1859 (Edgar 1974:378). He also was elected as a representative of Abbeville County to sit in the 44th General Assembly (Edgar 1974:382).

Table 19. Appraisement Bill of the Estate of Mrs. Jane Harper
Deceased late of Abbeville District, South Carolina,
Appraised July 7th 1853. By E. P. Speed, F. W.
Clinkscales, & Josiah Burton -

One Dining Table	2 50	3 Tables, bowls & pitchers	7 00
Water Bucket & Stand	1 00	Lot of Bed clothing & chest	25 00
2 ½ Round Tables	5 00	2 Chests	50
Lot of crockery, spoons knives		3 Barrels	75
& waitins [?]	25 00	Ropes, works [?], pail & c.	5 00
Lot of Candle Sticks	1 50	5 Demi-jons	5 00
lot of Jars	1 00	1 Thermometer	1 00
Bed of furniture	12 00	Lot of castings	10 00

Table 19 (concluded)

10 Split bottom chairs	2 00	Lot of sundries in smoke	
1/2 Doz Windsor chairs	3 00	House	3 00
Side board & contents	35 00	Carding Machine	8 00
1 Dining Table & 1 small do	8 00	5 Spinning wheels & scale [?]	7 00
1 Clock	5 00	Loom, Gin, & flax wheels	12 00
silver Candle sticks & snuffers	1 50	2 Tables, Barrels, Mortar & Tub	3 00
Set of Draws [sic], glass, Tables & arm chair	20 00	Lot of Jars & Tins	5 00
1 Dining Table	25 00	Lot of Bowls	1 50
1 Doz flag chairs	12 00	Andirons Shovel & tongs	2 00
1 Carpet & Rug	3 00	" " & poker	1 50
Fender fire dogs shovel & tongs	15 00		
2 Silver Candle Sticks	2 00		
2 pictures	3 00		
Lot of Books	5 00		
Set of draws [sic], whash [sic] stand & bowl	30 00		
Bed of furniture	20 00		
Bed of furniture	18 00		

South Carolina Abbeville Dist.

We the subscribers Sworn appraisers of the Estate of the late Mrs Jane Harper do hereby [sic] Certify that the above is to the best of our belief a true apprasment [sic] of her Estate

Sworn to before

T N Gante [?] M A P

July 7, 1853

E P Speed

W. F. Clinkscales

Josiah Burton

____ Appraisers

Table 20. Sale Bill Estate of Jane Harper decd.

27 Oct 1853. H H Harper Exor

Acres Land	Jas. C. Harper	At \$1.00 per acre	
1 Lot Pot Ware [?]	H.H. Harper		2.00
1 Do Do Do	Do Do Do		".50
1 pr Waful [sic] Irons & Pot	Do Do Do		1.00
1 Lot Hogshead _____ Barrel	Do Do Do		1.00
" " Box & Barrels	" " "		1.00
1 Table &c	" " "		".50
1 Loom & whole Apperatus [sic]	" " "		5.00
1 Small Wheel &c	" " "		1.00
1 Carding Machine	" " "		9.00
2 Spining [sic] Wheels	" " "		1.88
1 Kitchen Table	" " "		".50
1 Large Mortar	" " "		".50
1 Small Do	" " "		".25
1 Brass kettle	" " "		1.05

Table 20 (continued)

1 Lot Cooking Utensials [sic]	Do Do Do		1.00
1 Barrel & 1 Table	" " "		".25
1 pr. Pitchers	W.H. Harper	Paid	".62
1 Lot Crockery Ware	H.H. Harper		2.05
1 " Knives & Forks &c	" " "		".69
1 Doz Plates	Jas. C. Harper	Paid	1.00
4 Dishes	H.H. Harper		".62
4 Do	" " "		".69
1 Stake [sic] Dish	" " "		2.13
½ Doz Tea Spoons & Sugar Tongs	Sarah H. McGehee		1.00
½ " Large "	Wm H Harper	Paid	18.00
1 Pine Table	H H Harper		".50
1 Water Skin [?] & Bucket	" " "		".50
3 Candle Sticks & Snuffers	" " "		".50
2 Do Do	" " "		".25
1 pr Candle Sticks Silver	Wm. H Harper	Paid	".88
1 " " " "	H H. Harper		4.12
3 Jars	" " "		".50
3 Do	" " "		".25
3 Pitchers	H Harper		4.25
Decanters & Stand	Do Do		1.05
Casters & Glassware	Do Do		2.62
Sideboard	Do Do		14.50
1 Dining Table & Rounds	Do Do		10.00
½ dz Chairs	Do Do		
10 Chairs	Do Do		1.00
Books, Lot No. 1	Isaac Carlisle	Paid	.50
Am. Biography 5 vol.	Jas C Harper	Paid	2.00
Life of Christ	H Harper		.50
4 vol Rollins History	do do		1.87
2 vol Spectator	Jas C Harper		1.12
Walkers Dictionary	H Harper		1.00
Am. Biography 1 vol.	W H Harper	Paid	.25
Greek Revolution	H Harper		.25
Fountain of Life 1 vol.	do		.25
Scott's Mark [?]	H H Harper		1.00
Books Lot No. 2	H Harper		1.37
1 Clock	do do		16.00
1 Desk & Drawers	do do		5.00
Bedstead & clothing	do do		15.00
Arm chair	do do		.35
Fire dogs Shovel Tongs &c	do do		2.00
do do do	do do		2.00
1 doz Chairs	do do	each 1.20	14.40
Mahogany Table	H H Harper		31.50
Carpet & Rug	H H Harper		9.50
2 Pictures in frames	Wm H Harper	Paid	.50
Bureau & Glass	H Harper		23.50
Wash stand	do do		1.75
Fender & Andirons	do do		10.50

Table 20. (continued)

Bed Stead & clothing	do do		21.00
do do	Jas C Harper	paid	21.00
Table & Cloth	H Harper		.50
2 half Round tables	do do		1.85
<hr/>			
H H Harper	1 pair Hspun [sic] Blankets		3.75
do do	1 patch work quilt		6.75
Jam C Harper	1 Coverlid	paid	5.50
H H Harper	1 do		5.50
do do	1 do		6.25
Wm H Harper	1 Counterpane	paid	1.37
H H Harper	1 do		5.25
do do	1 do		.75
do do	Spread & Valens [sic]		5.12
do do	1 patch work quilt		2.20
do do	1 do		2.00
do do	1 Check Counterpane		2.62
Jas C Harper	1 do	paid	3.50
do do	1 white Counterpane	paid	4.25
do do	1 do	paid	4.00
do do	1 patch work quilt	paid	2.87
H H Harper	1 do		2.50
do	1 Wool Coverlid		1.80
do	1 do		1.62
Wm H Harper	1 do	paid	2.00
do	1 pair sheets	paid	2.20
H H Harper	1 pair do		2.18
H H Harper	1 paid do (linen)		6.06
do	1 sheet		2.12
do	1 pair blankets		4.12
do	1 pair do		6.12
do	1 large chest		4.12
H H Harper	2 Boxes & Reel [?]		.50
do	Barrels & Boxes &c		.62
do	2 Demijohns		.50
do	3 do		1.00
do	Warping Bars & Spools		.50
do	Rope Works		2.00
do	1 Side Saddle		2.00
H H Harper	1/2 Doz Bowls &c		".50
" " "	2 Large Jars		".50
" " "	2 Do Do		".50
" " "	2 Do Do		1.06
" " "	2 Do Do		1.31
" " "	1 Lot Jars		".75
" " "	1 " Do & Pitchers		1.3

Table 20 (concluded)

H H Harper	1 "	Jars, Pans, Covers &c	".50
" " "	1	Box & Contents	".20
" " "	3	Setts [sic] Window Curtains	
	2.50	¢	7.50

Table 21. Henry H.B. Harper's 1860 Agricultural Census Return.

Acres of improved land	400	
Acres of unimproved land	1,000	
Cash value of farm		\$21,000
Cash value of farm implements/machinery		950
Horses	9	
Asses and mules	3	
Milk cows	12	
Working oxen	8	
Other cattle	30	
Sheep	50	
Swine	35	
Cash value of livestock		2,678
Cash value of animals slaughtered		760
Wool (pounds)	60	
Wine (gallons)	10	
Butter (pounds)	365	
Beeswax (pounds)	30	
Honey (pounds)	400	
Value of homemade manufactures		300
Wheat (bushels)	300	
Rye (bushels)	50	
Indian corn (bushels)	1,500	
Oats (bushels)	200	
Cotton (bales)	30	
Peas and beans (bushels)	200	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	50	
Hay (tons)	8	

The Civil War began with the Confederate firing on Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, April 12, 1861. In September 1861, Henry Harper enrolled in the Confederate Army (Compiled Service Records-S.C.). Harper was mustered in as a captain at Camp Butler. His company, the McCalla Rifles, was a part of the 14th Regular South Carolina Infantry. During the first quarter of 1862, Harper was stationed at Tomotley, Beaufort District, South Carolina. He obtained a leave of absence during the

summer of 1862, and an October 1862 muster roll listed him as absent because he was wounded while at home. He was again admitted to a hospital for an unknown reason in March of 1863. By May of 1863 he was listed as a Brigade Inspector.

Harper was promoted to the rank of major in September 1863. He was then stationed with Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia near Petersburg, Virginia. It was here that Harper probably saw his first military action. In May of 1864, Ulysses S. Grant launched a major offensive into Virginia. With the Battle of the Wilderness and the battle at Spotsylvania behind him, Grant pushed further into Confederate territory. It is unknown whether Harper was involved in the action at either of these two locations. During June 1864, the two armies met at Cold Harbor. Grant was unable to break Lee's lines, and chose to flank the Confederate army and attempt to take Petersburg. Unable to do so, the Union army set up a siege of Petersburg that was to last until Lee's surrender in 1865. On July 28, 1864, Henry Harper was captured at Malvern Hill, halfway between Cold Harbor and Petersburg.

He was first sent to Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C., and then to Fort Delaware for the remainder of the war. After swearing an oath of allegiance to the United States, Henry Harper was released from prison on July 24, 1865. He was described on his release form as having dark complexion, hair, and eyes, and measuring 6'.

An 1865 tax return for Abbeville District (S.C. Comptroller General) listed Harper as owning 1,100 acres valued at \$8,800. His cotton on hand October 1, 1865, was valued at \$6,240. In 1870, Harper's personal estate was valued at only \$1,000. However, his agricultural census return for that year showed that he actually produced two more bales of cotton in 1870 than he did in 1860 (Table 22). Of his 1,100 acres, 300 were improved. An interesting aspect to Harper's census return is the fact that no amount is given for wages or board paid during 1869. He surely had people working for him, but the census return does not reflect that fact.

Table 22. Henry Harper's 1870 Agricultural Census Return.

Acres of improved land	300	
Acres of woodland	400	
Acres of other unimproved land	400	
Cash value of farm		\$8,000
Cash value of implements/machinery		200
Estimated value of all farm productions		5,100
Horses	5	
Mules and asses	5	
Milk cows	10	
Working oxen	4	
Other cattle	15	
Sheep	25	
Swine	15	
Value of livestock		1,500

Table 22. (concluded)

Winter wheat (bushels)	100
Indian corn (bushels)	1,000
Oats (bushels)	200
Cotton (bales)	32

Major Harper was again elected to serve in the 53rd General Assembly of the South Carolina House of Representatives from late 1878 to 1880. In the 1880 population census, he was described as a farmer and a legislator. His son, E. Weston Harper, then 22, was described as working on the farm.

The agricultural census for 1880 has one entry for Henry Harper and a separate entry for his son, E. Weston Harper, who was listed as renting his farm on a fixed cash basis. In 1880, Henry Harper had 500 acres, of which 100 were improved. The value of his farm had decreased to \$2,600, and he still was not listed as paying for any hired labor. He produced no cotton in that year (Table 23).

Weston Harper, on the other hand, was renting 66 acres, of which 60 were improved (tilled, fallow, or in rotation) and 6 were in permanent meadows (Table 24). The value of Weston's land was placed at \$800, but he paid \$500 for wages and board. About 2/3 of his land was planted in cotton, from which he harvested 13 bales. It seems probable that Weston was renting land from his father, and was in charge of the cotton production and management of paid labor for the entire farm.

Henry H.B. Harper died in 1886, apparently in Abbeville County, but there are no probate records at the Abbeville County Courthouse relating to his death. He is buried in the Harper family cemetery. His wife, Elvira (Ella), died in 1891 and is also buried in the Harper family cemetery. Again, the Abbeville County Probate Court has no documentation on the settlement of her estate. Despite the lack of estate papers, it appears that the farm was left to the Harpers' four surviving children: E. Weston, Jennie H. Heard [?], Minnie H. Nickels, and James C. In 1894, Weston Harper bought out the others' shares in the land (Abbeville County Deeds, Book 16, Page 592).

In 1900, the population census return for Weston Harper showed that his household included himself; his wife, Alice; 7 children; his sister, Jennie; and his brother, Clarence. A 1908 tax return from Abbeville County shows that Harper owned 1,306 acres valued at \$7,250, one town lot worth \$50 and one building valued at \$100 (Table 25).

By 1913, Weston Harper had sold some of his land. A tax duplicate for that year shows that he owned 1,101 acres valued at \$5,585. There was no mention of a town lot (Table 26).

In 1926 Weston Harper lost his land through a court judgment. The farm was sold at public auction to Douglas Featherstone, of Greenwood, South Carolina (Abbeville County Deeds, Book 44, Page 194). Featherstone maintained his absentee ownership of the farm until it was sold to

Table 23. Henry H.B. Harper's 1880 Agricultural Census Return.

Acres of improved land	100	
Acres of woodland	350	
Acres of unimproved land	50	
Cash value of the farm		\$2,600
Cash value of implements/machinery		150
1879 cost of building/repairing fences		100
Estimated value of all farm productions		700
Horses	2	
Working oxen	2	
Milk cows	1	
Other cattle	6	
Calves dropped in 1879	3	
Cattle slaughtered in 1879	3	
Cattle died in 1879	2	
Swine	15	
Barnyard poultry	30	
Other poultry	26	
Cash value of livestock		280
Butter (pounds)	300	
Eggs (dozens)	100	
Honey (pounds)	400	
Beeswax (pounds)	50	
Acres planted in barley	2	
Barley (bushels)	40	
Acres planted in oats	40	
Oats (bushels)	600	
Acres planted in wheat	10	
Wheat (bushels)	140	
Acres planted in sorghum	4	
Molasses (gallons)	240	
Cowpeas (bushels)	40	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	50	
Acres planted in sweet potatoes	2	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	300	
Acres of peach orchard	2	
Number of bearing peach trees	50	
Amount of wood cut (cords)	50	
Value of all forest products sold/consumed		50

Table 24. Weston Harper's 1880 Agricultural Census Return.

Acres of improved land	60	
Acres of permanent meadows	6	
Cash value of farm		\$ 800
Cash value of implements/machinery		15
Amount paid for wages/board		500
Estimated value of all farm productions		1,085
Horses	1	
Mules and asses	1	
Working oxen	2	
Swine	8	
Cash value of livestock		225
Acres planted in Indian corn	20	
Indian corn (bushels)	300	
Acres planted in cotton	40	
Cotton (bales)	13	
Cowpeas (bushels)	20	
Acres planted in Irish potatoes	1	
Acres planted in sweet potatoes	$\frac{1}{2}$	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	40	

Table 25. Weston Harper's 1908 Tax Return.

Poll tax \$ 1

1 Horse @ \$75
 8 Cattle @ \$80
 5 Mules/asses @ \$370
 3 Hogs @ \$15
 1 Watch @ \$25
 3 Vehicles @ \$75
 1 Dog @ \$5

1,306 Acres @ \$7,250
 1 Town lot @ \$50
 1 Building @ \$200

Table 26. Weston Harper's 1913 Tax Duplicate.

Total value all taxable real property - \$5,585
 Total value all taxable personal property - \$460
 Total value all taxable property - \$6,045
 Total tax - \$96.72
 Poll tax - \$1.00

Table 26. (concluded)

1 Horse @ \$75
4 Cattle @ \$40
4 Mules/asses @ \$250
4 Hogs @ \$10
1 Watch @ \$25
3 Vehicles @ \$50
2 Dogs @ \$10

1,101 Acres @ \$5,585

South Carolina (Abbeville County Deeds, Book 44, Page 194). Featherstone maintained his absentee ownership of the farm until it was sold to the United States in 1979. A 1929 plat of the property bought by Featherstone shows that the total amount of land was actually 967.2 acres. Of this, 118 acres were lands that Weston Harper had previously sold to J.M. Turner, 848.2 acres were listed as the "H.H. Harper place," and one acre on the Georgia side of the river was included as part of the Harper's Ferry operation.

As stated previously, the Harper's Ferry continued in operation until 1928. Between 1912 and 1928, it was operated primarily by Robert Morrow, who was a tenant farmer at the Harper plantation (HABS n.d.). On Easter Sunday, 1920, the ferry capsized in high waters, killing 10 of the 11 young people who were aboard. This included Lester Waters and his new bride, Alice, who were tenants on the Harper farm. Lester was running the ferry operation at the time. Many articles have been written about this tragic incident, from newspaper accounts to melodramatic poems (Cannon n.d.).

After the accident, Robert Morrow resumed operation of the ferry. Photographs of the ferry boat during these last years have been printed in H.T. Cannon's True Stories of the Savannah (n.d.). An interesting aspect about Cannon's narrative is that he included a photograph of the house in which Lester and Alice (Lollie) Waters were living at the time of their deaths (n.d.:66); it was the main house at the Harper site. It appears, then, that by this time Weston Harper and his family were no longer living on the farm.

After Douglas Featherstone purchased the property, the Morrows continued to live in the main house. Lester Morrow was the last to live in the house, and was occupying it when it burned in 1965. Morrow continued to live on the premises in a mobile home until his death in 1978 (HABS n.d.).

MCCALLA SITE (38AB78, 38AB67) AND FAMILY HISTORY

The property history of the McCalla sites (38AB67, 38AB78) is extremely complicated. From their very first arrival in the Savannah River-Rocky River area in the early nineteenth century until they divested themselves of all their landholdings in the mid-1960s, the McCallas were actively involved in land speculation in all of its forms: buying, selling, and trading. As a part of their high business acumen, many land transactions took place within the family as well, both among siblings and between generations. Fortunately, plats have been made for many of the land transfers since the 1870s, but the total picture of land use by the McCallas still remains very complex and difficult to understand. The personal history of the McCalla family is also very involved, but the presence of detailed probate records for many members of the family has allowed somewhat of an understanding of the changing fortunes of the family through time.

It is not known exactly when John McCalla moved to the land at the confluence of the Savannah River and the Rocky River. The first positive identification for his presence in Abbeville County comes from the 1820 population census records. He was listed in this count as being a free white male between the ages of 26 and 45. Also included in the household were a free white female between the ages of 16 and 26 and two free white males below the age of 10. This corresponds well to the actual family structure of the McCallas according to probate records, which show that John McCalla and his wife Susan V. Tennant McCalla had two sons, Isaac H. McCalla and George Robertson McCalla (Figure 8).

The 1820 census also reported that John McCalla owned 16 male slaves between the ages of 14 and 16, 2 female slaves below the age of 14, and 8 female slaves between the ages of 16 and 45. Additionally, there were six "free persons of color" who were included as a part of the McCalla listing. The problem is that an 1820 map of Abbeville County printed in the 1825 Mills' Atlas shows only the Spear family in the area between the Savannah River and the Rocky River (see Figure 3). Thus, it is not known whether the surveyor did not include the McCallas on the map or whether they were living elsewhere in Abbeville County in 1820.

The first positive evidence for the presence of the McCallas in the project area dates to 1833. On December 10th of that year, John McCalla had surveyed 768 acres of land between the Savannah River and the Rocky River. This survey was subsequently recorded as a state plat on November 24, 1834 (S.C. State Plats, Volume 50, Page 368). In 1833, the McCalla's neighbors were on the north and east William H. Caldwell, William H. Caldwell, Jr., James Alston, the Mosley's, and Mr. Bluford; and on the south Mr. Ferson [?], Thomas Anderson, and Widow Mosley.

In 1836, a number of residents in the Abbeville District sent a petition to the South Carolina legislature requesting a road closure in the area between the Rocky River and the Savannah River (S.C. Public Improvements, 1831-1859, Roads). Although John McCalla did not sign the petition, the sketch map that accompanied the petition does show his house and the spatial relationships between the McCallas and their

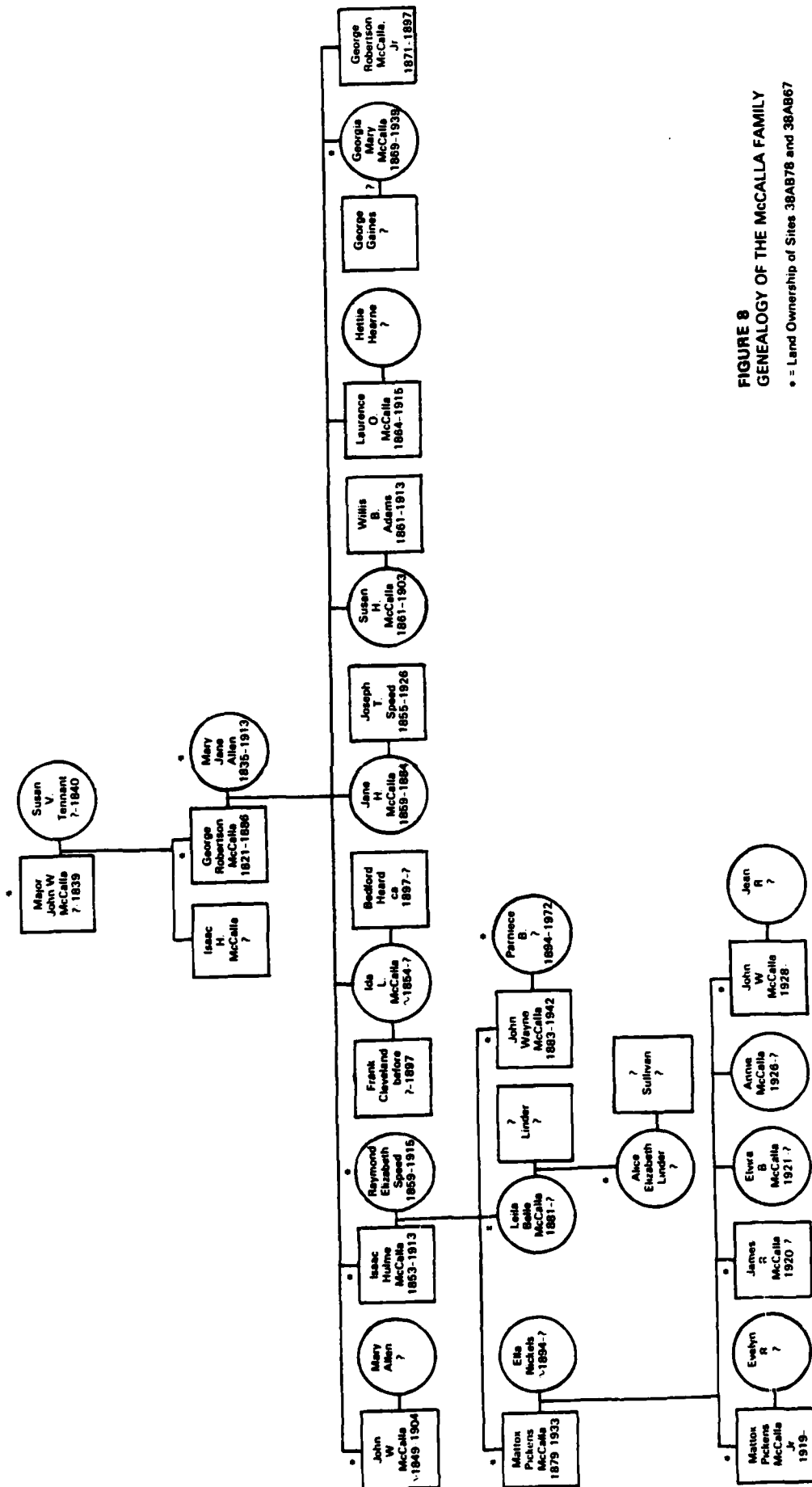


FIGURE 8
GENEALOGY OF THE MCCALLA FAMILY
 * = Land Ownership of Sites 38AB78 and 38AB67

neighbors (Figure 9). An interesting observation about the map is that not all of the houses look alike. There is no way of knowing whether the surveyor was accurate in depicting the appearances of the houses, but if he was, then it can be observed that the McCalla house (McCalla I) was two stories, with two end-gable chimneys and a central doorway. In comparison, John Moseley's house, the Alston cabin, and the two houses occupied by members of the Wimbish family appear to have been one-story buildings. It can also be observed that the McCalla's nearest neighbor was John Moseley, and that a school house was located on Ridge Road just past the location of the Alston cabin. Finally, John McCalla was given the title of "Major" on the map, although a search of the muster rolls for the War of 1812 in the South Carolina Department of Archives and History failed to reveal his name as having served as a South Carolina citizen. It is possible that he was living in another state at the time that he served.

There is very little other information available concerning the life of John McCalla and even less concerning the life of his wife, Susan. No tax records have been preserved earlier than 1856 for Abbeville County, and the 1830 population census is grossly inaccurate. John McCalla died in 1839. He is buried in the cemetery across the road from the McCalla I (38AB78) site. His probate records (Abbeville County Probate, Box 67, Packet 1626), unlike the few records that have survived from his lifetime, provide a clearer picture of his life as a planter, although the day-to-day workings of the plantation and the relationships between the various people who lived on the plantation, whether they were members of the McCalla family or slaves and hired help, still remain largely unknown.

In his will, John McCalla left several small bequests to various missionary societies. He then requested that all of his personal property, with the exception of the slaves Nanny and Sally and their children, be sold. The two slaves and their children were for his wife's use during her lifetime, and upon her death were to be divided equally between his two sons, Isaac and George. From the money arising from the sale of his personal property, John McCalla directed that \$1,000 be set aside for the education of George McCalla. The remainder was to be divided equally between the two sons. George was also to receive his father's gold watch. John McCalla also directed that his real estate be appraised and divided equally between his two sons. But he reserved for his wife, Susan, the right to occupy the west half of the house and to cultivate a third of the plantation during her lifetime.

Upon his death, John McCalla's estate was inventoried and appraised. The inventory provides a valuable look at the life of an early nineteenth century planter (Table 27). Included in the inventory were household furniture, guns of several types including a brace of possible duelling pistols, tools (agricultural, woodworking, and iron-working), wagons and carriages, and equipment associated with cloth-making (a carding machine, spinning wheels, and a loom). It also appears from the inventory that John McCalla was an educated man. Included among the household articles were a bookcase and library valued at \$150, and a copy of Washington's farewell address that was appraised

Table 27. A true Inventory of the Personal Estate of John McCalla
dec'd. Appraised this 29th day of November 1839.

	\$ Cts		\$ Cts
Bookcase & Library	150 00	Lot Husks [?]	10 00
Slab [?] and contents	140 00	14 hundred bushels corn	
1 Set dining tables	60 00	@ 1.60 per bush	875 00
1 Tea Table	15 00	20 thousand lbs fodder	
1 dozen chairs	90 00	75 per hundred	150 00
1 Clock	60 00	2 hundred bushels oats	
2 Maps	12 00	50 per bushel	100 00
Washington's farewell address	20 00	125 bushels wheat at 1.00	
4 Candlesticks	1 00	per bushel	125
1 pair andirons shovel & tongs	25 00	1 Carriage and horses	150 00
1 Sofa	20 00	90 thousand of Cotton at	
3 Guns & shot bags	25 00	2 dollars hundred	1,800 00
1 Brace pistols & dink [?]	25 00	Waggon and Cart	15 00
1 Stand	5 00	1 Colt	65 00
Fire dogs fender shovel & tongs	3 00	1 Grey horse	60 00
1 dozen split bottom chairs	6 00	Sorrel horse	51 00
5 Feather Beds & bedsteds [sic]	250 00	5 Mules at a hundred	
Lot sundries	11 00	dollars	500 00
1 Easy Chair	25 00	1 Lot hogs	90 00
Lot files screws etc.	2 00	2 horses @ 40.00	80 00
4 Bedsteads	4 00	1 Loom	8 00
3 Sides Leather	10 00	1 Carding machine	10 00
1 Slab water [sic] and fire dogs	2 00	Kitchen utensils	10 00
1 Glass Stand	2 00	Set knives & forks	20 00
1 Kitchen Basin Table	2 00	6 meal bags	1 00
4 Trunks	10 00	Salt	25 00
2 Chests	7 00	6 Spinning wheels	12 00
1 Slate [?]	90	Lot Cattle	250 00
350 lbs iron	25 00	5500 pounds pork at 6	
1 Lot Flours [?]	60 00	dollars per hundred	330 00
hoes & spades	10 00	Biddy	200 00
Axes wedge & pieces of iron	8 00	Patty	300 00
2 Saws	12 00	Rachel	350 00
Several eva	7 50	Herrod [Harwood?]	500 00
Lot Single-trees	5 00	Tom	400 00
Lot old axes	2 00	Winny	250 00
Lot of Carpenter's Tools	3 00	Fanny	500 00
2 pair Steelyards	2 00	Jim Strong	350 00
4 pair Guns [?] etc	2 00	Zack	650 00
Lot Sundries	1 50	Mary	400 00
1 Scrapin [?] & old irons	12 00	Betty	250 00
Shop Tools	50 00	Dely	700 00
		Milly	700 00
		Carolina	650 00
		Henry	800 00

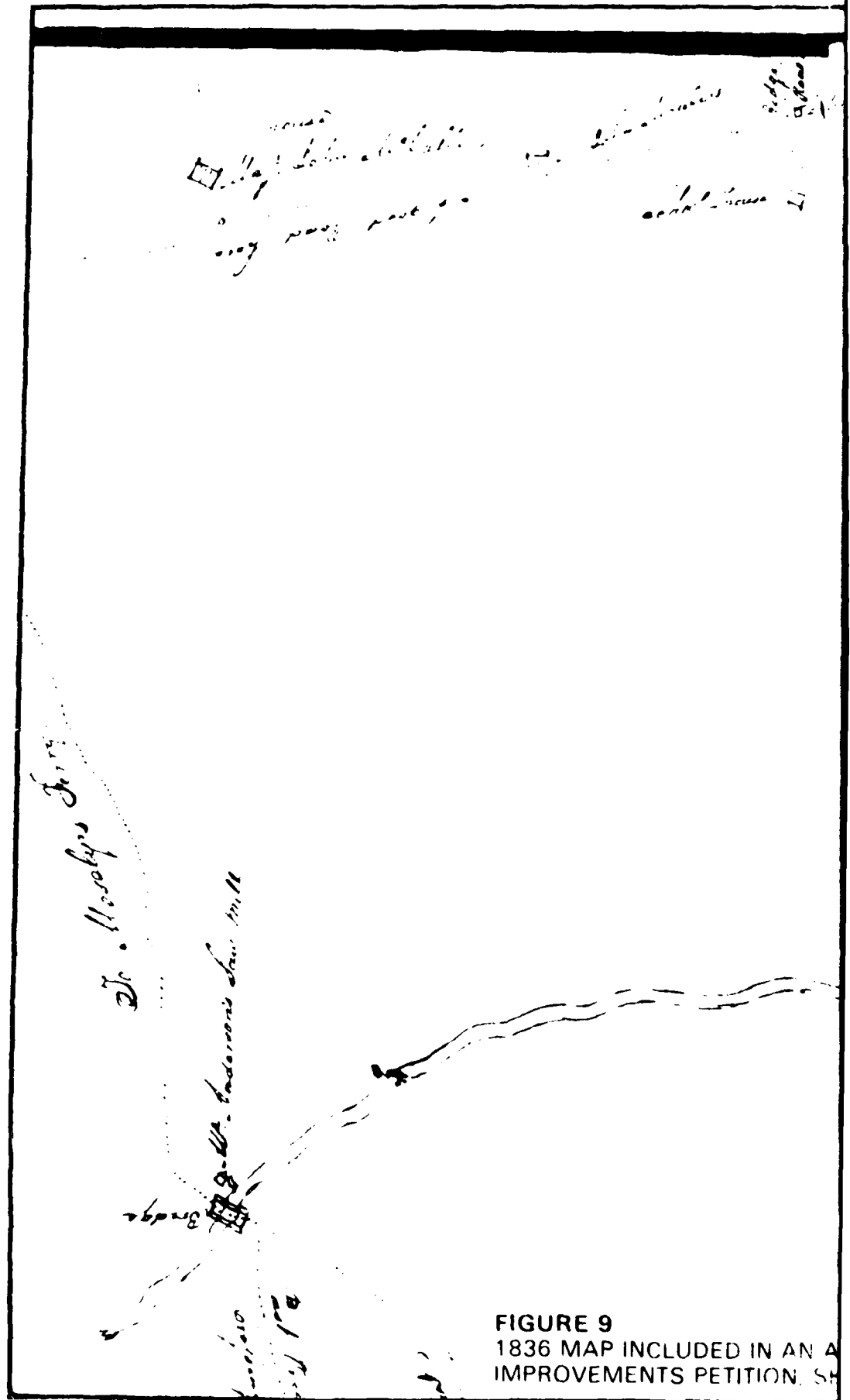


FIGURE 9
1836 MAP INCLUDED IN AN A
IMPROVEMENTS PETITION, SH

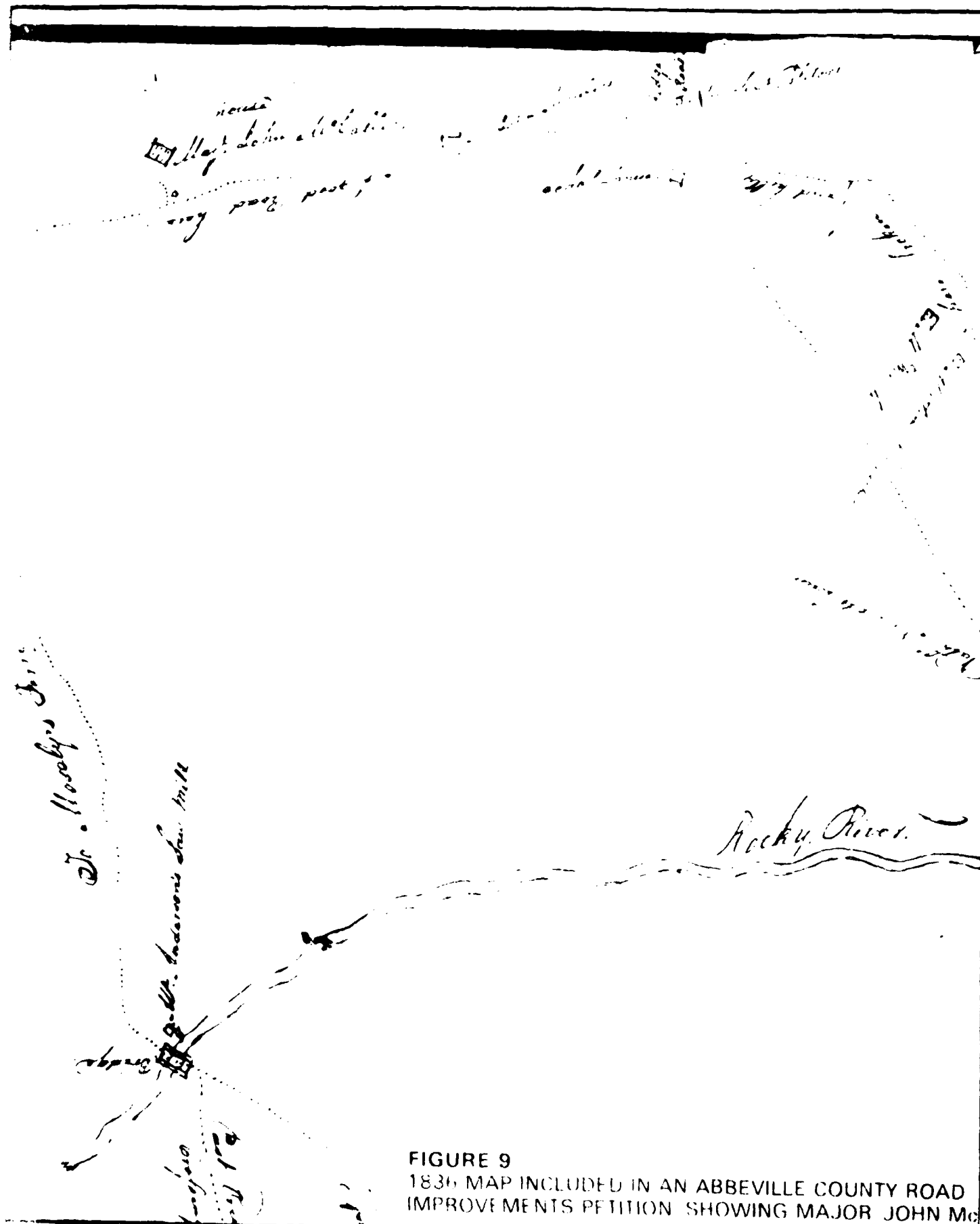
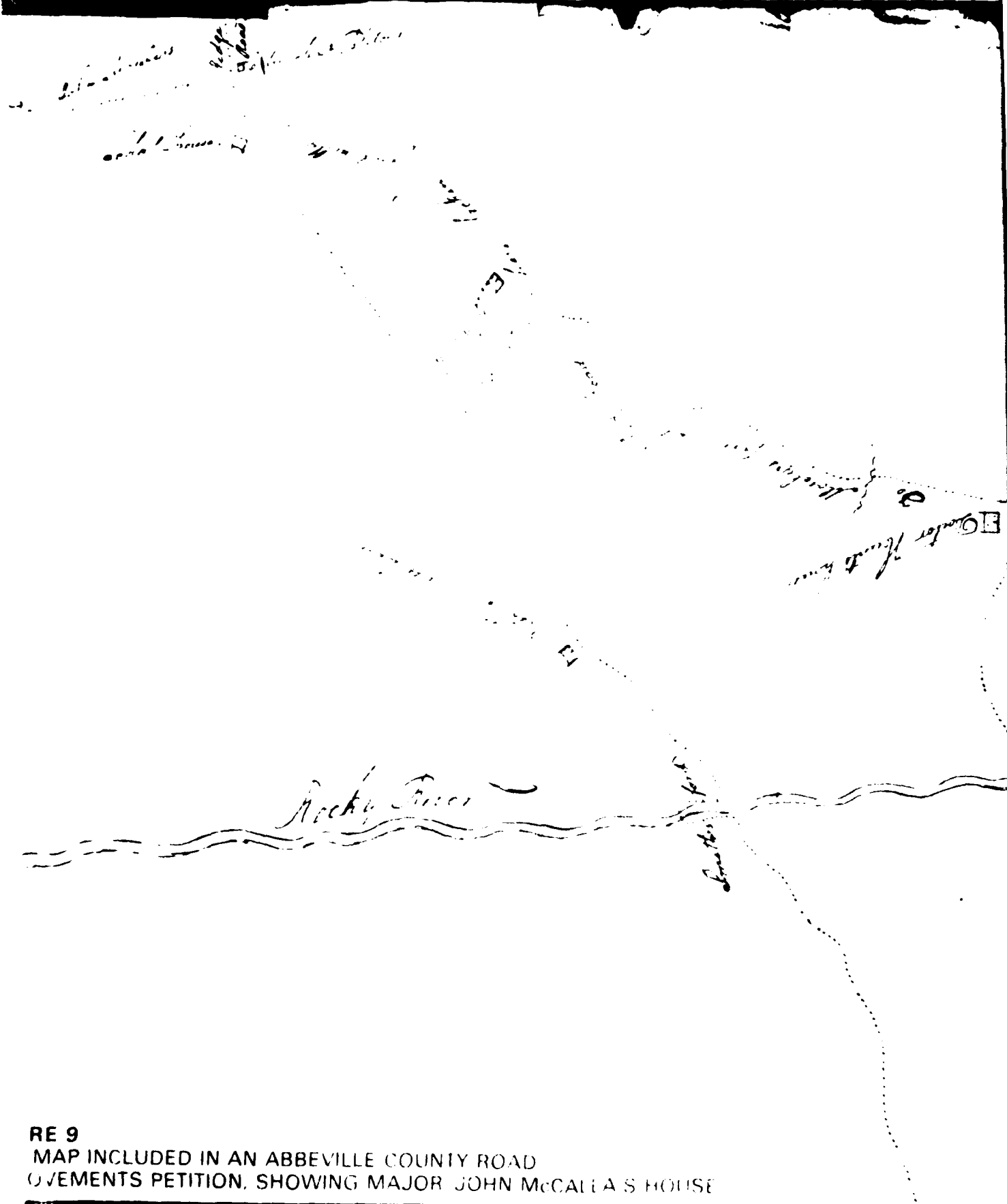


FIGURE 9
1836 MAP INCLUDED IN AN ABBEVILLE COUNTY ROAD
IMPROVEMENTS PETITION SHOWING MAJOR JOHN Mc

Q



RE 9
MAP INCLUDED IN AN ABBEVILLE COUNTY ROAD
OVEMENTS PETITION, SHOWING MAJOR JOHN McCALL'S HOUSE

Table 27 (concluded)

\$ Cts	\$ Cts
Charles	900 00
Alek	900 00
Ted	900 00
Jim H	500 00
Table & cupboard	10 00
	16,74 75
	[16,129 90]

We certify the above to be a just and true Inventory of of [sic] the personal Estate of John McCalla dec,^d as shown to us by the acting Executor and appraised this 29th Nov.^r 1839.

Josiah Patterson
A. Giles
William Speer

at \$20. Of more value in the inventory were the various crops that had been produced (corn, fodder, oats, wheat, and cotton), animals and animal products (horses, mules, cattle, hogs, and pork), and of most value, the slaves. John McCalla, when he died, owned 19 slaves, not counting those left to his wife, Susan, who were valued at \$10,200, or 2/3 of the total value of his estate.

The returns on the estate that were filed for several years after John McCalla's death by Isaac McCalla as executor of the estate provide some additional information about the workings of the plantation. For instance, in the return for 1839, the McCalla estate received \$1,203.88 on the sale of cotton produced that year. It also appears that J.E. Calhoun was operating a stud service for horses, because the estate paid him \$6.50 for a "spring season of horse." In 1840, items charged against the estate included a fee of \$36.90½ to Thomas Anderson for sawing planks, the costs of the coffin and case, the payment of accounts to different mercantile establishments for "articles necessary for the plantation," a fee of \$2.50 to someone named Speed for making a pair of shoes for George McCalla, a cost of \$94.75 to Archibald Scott for making a new wagon and repairing the old one, \$70.90 paid to John Moseley for corn, \$100 paid to A. Kelly for digging a well, \$25.16 for 1839 taxes, the freight costs on paints and lime, and \$131.12½ paid to James English for plastering the dwelling house. In 1841, the estate sold 26 bales of cotton at \$881.94, and paid Thomas Anderson \$27.94½ for lumber, \$92.67 to James Harris for cotton seed, \$159.82 to Benjamin Baird for paints and lime, \$78.58 to W. Pearce for painting the dwelling house, \$27.89 for the general poor and bridge tax, \$81.25 to James Hodge for over-seeing the field hands, and \$48.72 to E. Adams for groceries. Finally, in 1842, the estate received around \$798 for 36 bales of cotton (apparently cotton prices dropped considerably between 1841 and 1842), and paid out \$22.81 to William Bostwicks for groceries, \$8.50 to Samuel Hill for smith work, \$32.54 to J. English for repairing the gears of the

cotton gin, \$30.00 to Dr. Arnold for a medical account, and \$33.31 for the bridge and poor tax.

In the final settlement of the estate in 1849, after their mother had died, George and Isaac McCalla agreed to sell all the livestock, furniture, and tools, and split the proceeds evenly, with the exceptions of George's educational fund and gold watch. Instead of selling the slaves and dividing the proceeds of the sale between them, Isaac and George chose to split the slaves equally between themselves. By this time, however, ten years after John McCalla's death, the number of slaves owned by the estate had risen to 27. To Isaac were given John, Harwood, Henry, Tom, Rachel, Milly, Caroline, Bidde, Bell, Frank, Tikis, Harry, and Lige. George took as his share of the slaves: Charles, Frederick, Jim H., Jim S., Jack, Fanny, Winny, Patty, Sally, Nanny, Aleck, Dick, Jane, and Jeff. In comparing the list of slaves in the final settlement with those who were named in the estate inventory ten years earlier, it appears that at least 14 slaves were recorded on both lists.

While John McCalla's will and the estate settlement papers all remark that Isaac and George were to equally divide the real estate owned by their father, George apparently bought out Isaac's share sometime before 1850. In the 1850 population census, George McCalla was listed as a resident of Lowndesville Township, but Isaac McCalla was not. Isaac was, at that time, living elsewhere in Abbeville County. Thus, it was George who took over his father's plantation, even though he was the younger son, and carried it through the changes caused by the Civil War and the abolishment of slavery.

George McCalla married Mary Jane Allen in 1849; she was 16 years old and he was 28. In the 1850 census, he was listed as a farmer with real estate valued at \$13,860. The agricultural census for 1850 showed him to have 1,155 acres of land, of which 400 were improved. He was apparently heavily engaged in the production of cotton, but animal husbandry and the production of other, more subsistence-oriented crops, were also noted. Table 28 gives the breakdown of McCalla farm productions in 1850.

In 1850, George McCalla was listed as owning 27 slaves, 12 men ranging in age from 3 to 75, and 15 women ranging in age from 1 to 75. Although the ratio of men to women is different on the slave schedule from what was listed in John McCalla's estate settlement, the possibility exists that George McCalla may have bought some of the slaves allotted to his brother, Isaac, just as he appears to have bought out Isaac's share of the real estate.

George McCalla's fortunes rose phenomenally during the decade before the Civil War. An 1856 tax record book from Abbeville District (S.C. Comptroller General 1856) reported that, in that year, McCalla owned 1,760 acres and 74 slaves. In six years, his acreage had increased by two-thirds and the number of slaves that he owned had increased by two and three-fourths! However, in that year, McCalla only paid \$56 in taxes. It appears that even then the wealthy got away with paying less taxes than they should. Table 29 shows the differences in

Table 28. George McCalla's 1850 Agricultural Census Return.

Acres of improved land	400	
Acres of unimproved land	755	
Cash value of farm		\$13,860
Cash value of farm implements/machinery		360
Horses	9	
Asses and mules	5	
Milk cows	8	
Working oxen	6	
Other cattle	30	
Sheep	38	
Swine	173	
Value of livestock		1,952
Value of animals slaughtered		[illegible]
Wool (pounds)	100	
Butter (pounds)	1,000	
Wheat (bushels)	250	
Indian corn (bushels)	1,200	
Oats (bushels)	250	
Cotton (bales)	50	
Peas and beans (bushels)	70	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	5	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	40	
Barley (bushels)	50	
Hay (tons)	14	

Table 29. Comparison of 1856 Tax Returns for Harper, Clinkscales, and McCalla.

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. Acres</u>	<u>No. Slaves</u>	<u>Total Tax</u>
G.R. McCalla	1,760	74	\$56
H.H.B. Harper	726	34	75
W.F. Clinkscales	450	6	64
(S. Morton)*	(3,300)	(138)	(12)

*Tax return of S. Morton, another prominent citizen of Abbeville District, for comparison.

taxes paid between the Harpers, the McCallas, and the Clinkscales, as well as another prominent citizen of Abbeville District.

By 1860, George and Mary McCalla had four children. George's personal estate, which included 85 slaves living in 23 houses, had increased to \$76,400. McCalla's agricultural return for 1860 also showed substantial growth in both the quantity and the types of agricultural products reported for the plantation. The plantation itself had been enlarged to include 3,000 acres, of which 800 were improved (Table 30).

Table 30. George McCalla's 1860 Agricultural Census Return.

Acres of improved land	800	
Acres of unimproved land	2,200	
Cash value of farm		\$31,000
Cash value of farm implements/machinery		500
Horses	9	
Asses and mules	14	
Milk cows	18	
Working oxen	6	
Other cattle	42	
Sheep	90	
Swine	140	
Value of livestock		4,870
Value of animals slaughtered		800
Wool (pounds)	200	
Butter (pounds)	700	
Beeswax (pounds)	10	
Honey (pounds)	50	
Wheat (bushels)	400	
Rye (bushels)	150	
Indian corn (bushels)	1,400	
Oats (bushels)	50	
Cotton (bales)	110	
Peas and beans (bushels)	50	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	15	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	100	
Hay (tons)	21	
Value of orchard products		100

In 1865, the value of George McCalla's 3,000 acres had dropped from \$31,000 reported in the 1860 agricultural census to \$15,000 (S.C. Comptroller General 1865). He paid \$22.50 on property taxes, a poll tax of \$2.00, \$4.00 on 4 dogs, and \$30 in taxes on cotton valued at \$3,000, for a total of \$58.50 in taxes.

George McCalla's personal fortune underwent a serious change for the worse as a result of the Civil War. In 1870, the total value of his personal estate was listed as only \$6,000 and his real estate as \$12,000 (U.S. Bureau of Census 1870). By that time, George and Mary McCalla's eldest son, John, was away at school, and their second son, Isaac, was superintendent of the farm. An interesting aspect to the 1870 agricultural census is that there were three separate entries for George McCalla (Table 31). It is probable that George was responsible for one-third of the plantation, Isaac was responsible for another third, and another unknown person was supervising the productions of the remaining third.

Table 31. George McCalla's 1870 Agricultural Census Returns.

RETURN NUMBER 1

Acres of improved land	160	
Acres of woodland	500	
Acres of other unimproved land	500	
Cash value of farm		\$5,000
Cash value of implements/machinery		100
Total amount of wages/board paid		1,100
 Horses	2	
Mules and asses	8	
Milk cows	4	
Working oxen	3	
Other cattle	25	
Swine	40	
Value of livestock		1,200
 Indian corn (bushels)	600	
Cotton (bales)	6	
 Estimated value of all farm productions		5,857

RETURN NUMBER 2

Acres of improved land	80	
Acres of woodland	100	
Acres of other unimproved land	350	
Cash value of farm		\$2,800
Cash value of implements/machinery		100
Total amount of wages/board paid		600
 Horses	4	
Mules and asses	6	
Milk cows	2	
Working oxen	3	
Other cattle	10	

Table 31 (concluded)

RETURN NUMBER 2 (continued)

Sheep	60	
Swine	20	
Value of livestock		1,200
Winter wheat (bushels)	200	
Indian corn (bushels)	1,050	
Cotton (bales)	30	
Estimated value of all farm productions		13,975

RETURN NUMBER 3

Acres of improved land	100	
Acres of woodland	150	
Acres of other unimproved land	300	
Cash value of farm		\$3,500
Cash value of implements/machinery		100
Total amount of wages/board paid		900
Mules and asses	8	
Milk cows	2	
Working oxen	20	
Other cattle	12	
Swine	10	
Value of livestock		1,000
Indian corn (bushels)	200	
Cotton (bales)	60 [?]	
Estimated value of all farm productions		4,800

A comparison of the three returns reveals some drastic inconsistencies that raise some doubts about the validity of the returns. For instance, Return Number 1 showed \$1,100 in wage and board payments, but only 6 bales of cotton and 600 bushels of corn were produced, and the total value of farm productions was listed as \$5,857. Tax Return Number 2, on the other hand, showed only \$600 in wage/board payments, but 200 bushels of wheat, 1,050 bushels of corn, and 30 bales of cotton were produced for a total value of farm productions of \$13,975. Finally, Return Number 3 showed the greatest number of bales of cotton produced at 60, plus 200 bushels of corn, but the total value of farm productions was the lowest for the three returns at \$4,800. The amount paid for wages and board on Return Number 3 was \$900.

George McCalla's fortunes continued to deteriorate. By 1880, he was recorded as having produced absolutely no cotton and had only 19 1/4 acres under cultivation, apparently for the production of only subsistence crops. Yet, the monetary value of the farm remained unchanged

from the 1870 agricultural census. Table 32 gives the breakdown of the 1880 agricultural census for George McCalla.

Table 32. George McCalla's 1880 Agricultural Census Return.

Acres of improved land	10	
Acres of woodland/forest	1,000	
Acres of other unimproved land	1,833	
Cash value of farm		\$12,000
Cash value of implements/machinery		100
1879 cost of building/repairing fences		200
Amount paid for wages/board		250
Horses	3	
Mules and asses	1	
Working oxen	4	
Milk cows	5	
Other cattle	27	
Calves dropped in 1879	5	
Cattle slaughtered in 1879	5	
Cattle died in 1879	3	
Butter (pounds)	200	
Swine	10	
Barnyard poultry	40	
Eggs (dozen)	100	
Cash value of livestock		200
Acres planted in Indian corn	7	
Indian corn (bushels)	75	
Acres planted in wheat	10	
Wheat (bushels)	80	
Acres planted in Irish potatoes	$\frac{1}{2}$	
Acres planted in sweet potatoes	2	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	100	
Acres in apple orchard	1	
Number of bearing apple trees	26	
Acres of peach orchard	1	
Number of bearing peach trees	75	
Amount of wood cut (cords)	100	
Value of all forest products sold/consumed		100
Estimated value of all farm productions		100

The 1880 population census shows that George and Mary McCalla's four oldest children were living away from home by this time, but the four younger children were still at home or at school. Their eldest son, John W. McCalla, had moved to the Heardmont vicinity in Elbert County, Georgia, and became a prominent merchant, businessman, and

landowner on the Georgia side of the river. Isaac Hulme McCalla, their second son, married Raymond Elizabeth Speed around 1879, and in 1880 was listed as residing with his in-laws and working as a farmer. In the 1880 population census, Isaac and Raymond's first son, Mattox Pickens McCalla, was listed as six months old.

George McCalla died in 1886 and was buried in the family cemetery across the road from the McCalla I (38AB78) site. George and his wife, Mary, apparently lived in the house built by John McCalla until their deaths. An 1894 map of Abbeville County (Figure 10) shows "Mrs. M. McCalla" living in the location of the McCalla I site, while "I.H. McCalla" was living at what is now the McCalla II (38AB67) site. There is a very strong indication that what is being called the McCalla II site was originally the Speed home place that Isaac moved to when he married his wife. It may possibly have belonged to William Clark before that. In the cemetery across the road from the McCalla II site are the tombstones of Ezekiel P. Speed (1814-1881) and Julia A. Speed (1831-1863), Isaac McCalla's father- and mother-in-law. Also, in Isaac McCalla's will (Abbeville County Probate, Box 298, Packet 7239), he directed that no sale of property be made on his "home place known as the Speed place." Just outside the brick walls surrounding the McCalla II cemetery is William Clark's grave. Clark lived from 1793 to 1840. However, on the 1894 Abbeville County map (Figure 10), the "Clark place" is shown as being located east of Isaac McCalla's place, on the other side of Clark Creek.

George McCalla left very little in the way of personal property, but he did manage to keep his lands intact. In his will (Abbeville County Probate, Box 223, Packet 5720), he left very detailed directions as to how the estate was to be divided. First of all, he directed that all of his debts, of which there were many, be paid. To his wife, Mary Jane McCalla, he bequeathed all of his household and kitchen furniture, his buggy and carriage, his buggy horse, and his milk cows. He stated in his will that he had already given her, by deed, the tract of land known as his "home place" for the remainder of her life. The rest of his personal property he left to his daughters, Ida L. Cleveland and Susan H. McCalla, and to the children of his deceased daughter, Jane H. Speed, to be divided equally. He also left \$250 each to his daughters Ida and Susan. He stated in his will that he had already given, by deed, an interest in his tract of land known as the "home place" to his youngest daughter, Georgia Mary McCalla, and that this land was to be her full share of the estate. He named his son, Isaac H. McCalla, executor of the estate. He then directed that the remainder of his lands be appraised by three appraisers, and be divided into four equal parcels for his four sons, John W., Isaac H., Lawrence O., and George R., Jr.

George McCalla's land, which at his death consisted of 2,158 acres, was appraised at \$5 per acre and his personal property was appraised at a total of \$76. Table 33 shows the results of the appraisal, and Table 34 is the sale bill of the estate. It is very apparent from these two documents that George McCalla had lost most of his personal possessions by the time he died.



FIGURE 10
BULLOCK AND GRIER MAP OF ABBEVILLE COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA,
DRAWN IN 1894, SHOWING THE LOCATIONS OF THE HARPER,
CLINKSCALES, AND BOTH McCALLA SITES

Table 33. Appraisal of George McCalla's Personal Estate.

Said apraisement [sic] made by the undersigned apraisers [sic] this 27th Apr 1886.

	value	\$
3 head Cows	30.00	
1 corn sheller	2.00	
1 vise	2.00	
3 Wagon Wheels	1.00	
1 Pair Scales	8.00	
½ Buck cotton ties	.50	
B11 [?] and old Irons	10.00	
1 60 gal Boiler	10.00	
25 Head of Goats	12.50	

Wm Moore
J.E. Swearingen
W.C. Shaw

Table 34. Sale Bill of Personal Property of George R. McCalla
23rd Nov 1886.

J W McCalla	Scales	1.00
" "	One Roll Baggin [?]	1.50
I H McCalla	3 Wagon Tires	.75
J W McCalla	7 " "	.65
No Bid	1 Barrel of Bottles & Box Buckles	
J W McCalla	1 Keg of Horse Shoes per lb 72 lb	
	2 cents	1.44
No Bid	1 Keg Old Horse Shoes	
J W McCalla	2 Brinley Plow Stocks	.50
" "	1 Iron Pow [sic] Stock	.25
No Bid	4 Pro [sic] Harnes [sic] &	
" "	3 Pullies	
" "	5 Pro Harnes	
I H McCalla	5 " "	.25
" "	Lot of Irons No 1	.25
J W McCalla	" " " " 2	.25
I H McCalla	" " " " 3	.50
J W McCalla	" " " " 4	.50
I H McCalla	" " " " 5	.25
" "	" " " " 6	.05
Genry [?] Smith	" " " 7&8	.25
	Paid	

Table 34 (concluded)

I H McCalla	"	"	"	"	9		.05
J W McCalla	"	"	"	"	10		.70
B Clinkscates	"	"	"	"	11	Paid	<u>.30</u>
No Bid	"	"	"	"	12		
" "	"	"	"	"	13		9.44
" "	"	"	"	"	14		
" "	"	"	"	"	15		

Page 2

I H McCalla	1 lot Spike nails per lb	_____	.27
" "	1 " Bells		.25
" "	1 " "		.25
J W McCalla	1 " Old Harness		.50
Mose [?] Allen	1 " " Leather Bridles &c		.15
I H McCalla	1 Vise		.50
No Bid	1 Leather Collar & Rope		
" "	2 Two Horse plow Stocks		
J W McCalla	1 Heifer (Black & white)		7.50
" "	1 " (Red)		7.50
L O McCalla	1 Cow		8.00
I H McCalla	Corn Sheller		.50
J W McCalla	25 goats per head 32 cts		8.00
			<u>9.44</u>
			\$42.86

In order to pay all of his father's debts, as well as to meet all of the legacies in his father's will, Isaac McCalla received permission of his brothers to sell a portion of the lands and also to use the rents from the remaining lands in the payment of those debts. The rents were both in the form of cash rentals and as shares of cotton crops. The portion of the plantation that was sold was what was known as the "Speer place," which John W. McCalla bought for \$5,000. It is not known how many acres were included in this transaction.

The package of receipts that were included as part of the estate documentation provide some insight into the types of expenditures that were made by George McCalla during his last years. For instance, the receipts show that McCalla took his cook's child to the same doctor, A.J. Speer, as he himself went to, and that the family dentist was J.B. Moseley. The estate paid John Maxwell \$12.00 for building one house, although it is not known where the house was located or who occupied it. The receipts also show that McCalla paid J.M. Latimer \$6 per month to board his youngest son, George R., Jr., while at school. It is possible that George, Jr., was living in Lowndesville and studying with J.B. Franks, a local pharmacist, since one of the receipts showed \$22.90 paid to Mr. Franks for 7 months of tuition for one scholar.

Some of the receipts from various mercantile establishments were very detailed as to the types of merchandise that were purchased. For example, Mattox McCalla and Company (undoubtedly a relative, but probably not McCalla's grandson, Mattox Pickens McCalla) sold hardware to George McCalla, including 45 pounds of nails, 3 sets of strap hinges, and more than 1 gross of screws. Sherard and Leroy, "dealers in general merchandise" located in Lowndesville, sold to McCalla such items as collars, note paper, overshoes, memorandum paper, envelopes, a scarf, pencils and pens, letter paper, oysters, ink, cuffs, and an umbrella. Finally, it appears that from T.M. Christian, George McCalla bought such articles as olives and candy.

It is difficult to determine the exact sequence of events surrounding property transfers that followed George McCalla's death, but it appears that by 1894, Isaac McCalla had either bought out or was managing most of his brothers' shares of the plantation (Figure 10). It is known that Isaac was managing his brother John's share of the estate, since John was living in Elbert County, Georgia. Also, when George R. McCalla, Jr., died in 1897, his share of the estate apparently reverted to Isaac's control. It is unknown whether Lawrence McCalla was also involved in the management of the farm.

Unlike his father, Isaac Hulme McCalla was apparently a very aggressive businessman and an ambitious landowner throughout his entire life. Even though he was left very little from his father's estate except the land itself, Isaac "Ike" McCalla built the plantation to an even larger size than it was prior to the Civil War. Between his father's death in 1886 and his own in 1913, Ike McCalla increased the acreage of the plantation from 2,158 acres to 3,490 acres. Obviously, this amount of acreage could not have been farmed effectively during the early twentieth century without the participation of a large number of people, and it appears from oral history accounts that a great number of people were employed, both willingly and unwillingly, in the labor force of the McCalla plantation. The types and extent of labor practices that were used on the plantation will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VI.

According to the 1900 population census, Isaac's mother, Mary Jane McCalla, was maintaining a separate household from that of her son's. This corresponds well to the 1894 Abbeville County map (Figure 10) that showed her to be living in the old McCalla "home place" and Isaac to be living further north at what is now the McCalla II (38AB67) site. Included in Mary Jane McCalla's household were her daughter, Georgia M. McCalla, and three black servants: Virgin[ia] McCalla, a 12-year-old girl; Thomas Martin, aged 47; and Jeannie McCalla, aged 91. Mary McCalla was apparently not involved in farming of any sort at this time, and it is probable that if the "home place" was being farmed at all, Isaac was doing the farming. In 1900, all three of Isaac's and Raymond's children, Mattox P., Leila B., and John W., were still living at home. Mattox was working as a salesman, and Leila and John were still in school.

It is unfortunate that no agricultural census records are currently available past 1880, because it would be very valuable to an under-

standing of the development of the McCalla II site if the types and amounts of crops grown on the plantation were known. The tax returns for various years, however, provide some insight into the workings of the plantation. In 1908, Isaac McCalla filed a tax return that demonstrated that his income derived not only from farming, but also from activities as a merchant, a manufacturer, and from stock investments (Table 35). Tax duplicates from 1913 show very clearly the amount of land being controlled by the McCalla family just prior to the deaths of Isaac McCalla and his mother, Mary Jane McCalla (they both died in 1913) (Table 36).

Table 35. Isaac McCalla's 1908 Tax Return.

3 Horses @ \$215	
30 Cattle @ \$300	
23 Mules/asses @ \$1,725	
2 Sheep/goats @ \$30	
1 Watch @ \$25	
1 Carriage, 6 wagons, 1 buggy @ \$150	
2 Dogs @ \$10	
Value of goods, etc., relating to business as a merchant	- \$1,000
Value of machinery, tools, etc., relating to business as a manufacturer	- \$600
Value of stock investments	- \$2,500
Value of other property (household furniture, crops on hand, etc.)	- \$1,000
3,490 Acres @ \$16,470	

John W. McCalla, Isaac's older brother, died in 1904 in Elbert County, Georgia. From an analysis of his will (Abbeville County Probate, Box 274, Packet 6477), it appears that John was in a business partnership with Isaac, and he requested in his will that Isaac be absolved of all liabilities arising from his share of the partnership. It is unknown what the partnership consisted of, although it was probably in part a landowning partnership. In a codicil to the will, John McCalla directed that his half-interest, consisting of about 600 acres, in his father's estate remain in the possession of Isaac McCalla until their mother's death, the rents and profits from which were to be used for her support, if necessary. He then stated that after the death of their mother, Isaac could, if he wished, buy John's share of their father's estate from John's widow at a fair price. Finally, he bequeathed to Isaac in trust for his own wife and children the Speer place in South Carolina for a term of 15 years, and he directed that Isaac pay half of the annual rents from the land to John's wife and children during that time. Isaac would be able to retain for his own use the other half of the said rents. At the end of the 15 years, the land would revert back to John McCalla's estate, but Isaac could, if he wished, buy a half-interest in the land from John's widow.

Table 36. 1913 Tax Duplicates for Isaac McCalla, the John W. McCalla Estate, and Mrs. Mary Jane McCalla.

I.H. McCalla

Total taxable real property value - \$17,450
Total taxable personal property value - \$8,910
Total taxable property value - \$26,360
Total tax - \$421.76

1 Carriage, etc. - \$300
1 Dog @ \$5
Other property (including household furniture) - \$8,605
3,490 Acres @ \$17,450

J.W. McCalla Estate (Abbeville County Landholdings)

Total taxable real property - \$5,400
Total tax - \$86.40
Number of acres - 1,564

Mrs. M.J. McCalla

Total taxable real property - \$2,750
Total tax - \$44
Number of acres - 570

It is presumed that Isaac did take over possession of John's share in their father's estate after John's death, and that he managed the Speer place for John's widow for half of the rents. However, since Isaac died in 1913, the same year as his mother and nine years after his brother's death, it is doubtful that Isaac had the opportunity to buy out either John's half-interest in their father's estate or a half-interest in the Speer tract of land. Nevertheless, in the settlement of Isaac's estate there was a tract of land mentioned that consisted of approximately 625 acres, which was sold to Isaac McCalla by Mrs. Mary W. McCalla and others in December 1906. This may have been John's share of their father's estate.

When he died, Isaac McCalla left a will that gave very explicit directions as to how his estate was to be divided among his heirs and legatees (Abbeville County Probate, Box 298, Packet 7239). After payment of all debts, he directed that each of his children, M.P. McCalla, Leila Belle Linder, and John W. McCalla, receive \$5,000, to be paid as soon as the money could reasonably be spared from the estate. However, he added that any advances on the estate would have to be subtracted from this figure. He then bequeathed to his son, John, six mules, to be selected from the stock on hand at the time of his death without valua-

tion, and not to be accounted for at the final settlement of the estate. The remainder of his personal property, including money, notes, bonds, stocks, etc., he left entirely to his wife, Raymond E. McCalla. To his granddaughter, Alice Elizabeth Linder, he left \$250, which was to be placed in a savings bank and paid to her with interest when she reached 18 years of age.

To his son, John, he left the tract of land, containing 226 acres, known as the Caldwell place (he was given deed to this land by his brother, John, in 1880); and 221 acres, known as part of the Alston lands, which he bought from James Alston Cabell and others in 1890, for John's use during the lifetime of Raymond E. McCalla. When she died, these lands were to revert back to the estate to be disposed of along with the rest of Isaac's lands. The remainder of the lands that Isaac owned between the Savannah River and the Rocky River were for the sole use of his wife, Raymond, during her lifetime. Upon the death of his wife, Isaac directed that all of his lands be divided into three parcels of nearly equal size. He then stated that John could have first choice of his share of lands, but that he had to select his land in one body and not in separate sections. M.P. McCalla and Leila B. Linder could then make their choices of the remaining land.

Isaac McCalla made some other interesting provisions in his will. For instance, he stated that lands not included in the three parcels chosen by his children be sold at whatever terms they felt were best, except for his tract of land near Latimer Station on the Savannah Valley Railroad, which was not to sell for less than \$30 per acre. The proceeds of any sale of land were to be divided equally among the three children. Excepted from the above provision was a tract of land that Isaac had bargained to Singleton A. Speed, which Isaac stated could not be taken from Speed during his lifetime. The executors could attempt to collect the interest on the purchase price of this tract of land, but in no way were they to disturb Speed's possession of the land while he lived. Singleton Speed was a brother to Raymond Speed McCalla. He was deaf from a "fever" that he contracted at the age of 14 (T.H. Waters, personal communication 1982).

Isaac McCalla also directed that a family cemetery, consisting of two acres fronting the Harper's Ferry road and including the existing graveyard at his home place, be set aside in a perfect square, to be used by subsequent generations of the family. This is the brick-walled McCalla II cemetery.

Finally, Isaac's will included a clause concerning the cutting of timber. It appears that he may have been aware both of the dangers of uncontrolled soil erosion and of the future value of prime timberland. This clause is quoted in its entirety:

Ninth. I will and direct that no forest lands included in the above devises to my wife and children shall be cleared during the continuance of the life estates in said lands, except the land lying between the Harper's Ferry road and the road which runs from my home place to [the] house of E.O. Clinkscales,

and the lands lying between the road from my dwelling house to my boat landing on the Savannah River and the upper line of the Caldwell place, and in no event shall the land known as the "Caldwell woods" be cleared. Timber for building and repairing houses and fences may [be] cut when necessary.

There is no additional documentation with Isaac's will and the required probate forms that list the amounts and types of personal property that he owned. However, when Raymond McCalla died two years later, an inventory was made of her personal estate, much of which was probably property that she inherited from Isaac's will. This inventory (Table 37) provides some real insights into how the plantation was managed and farmed. It is apparent from the inventory that the McCallas were providing much of the equipment that was being used on the farm, but it is highly unlikely that they themselves were using all of this equipment. For instance, the inventory lists 4 wagons, 3 grain drills, 4 harrows, 6 plows, 9 [seed and/or manure] distributors, 6 planters, 9 grain cradles, and 24 cotton hoes. Undoubtedly, other people were being used to provide the manpower that went along with all of this equipment. This corresponds well with oral history accounts that a "wages hand" labor force was being used on the McCalla plantation. The ramifications of this type of land and labor use pattern will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VI.

In addition, the inventory also shows that, at the time of her death, Raymond McCalla had on hand 96 pairs of pants, overalls, and jackets; dry goods; shoes; and notions valued at \$260. Obviously she was not wearing or using all of these items herself. In fact, this is probably part of the stock that she had on hand in the store that was located quite near to the home place. This store and who used it will also be discussed further in Chapter VI.

When she died in 1915, Raymond McCalla left a detailed will as to how her personal estate was to be divided. As a result of the conditions in Isaac's will, however, she had no control over the distribution of the lands that he had given her for her use. First of all, she left a legacy of \$250 to her granddaughter, Alice Elizabeth Linder. As was the case with Isaac's matching bequest to Alice Linder, Raymond directed that the money be invested in good interest-bearing securities, and that Alice receive the money and the accrued interest on her eighteenth birthday. However, Raymond qualified this by saying that if the money was needed for medical treatment or for educational purposes, especially in music, prior to Alice's eighteenth birthday, then as much of the interest as was needed could be used. Secondly, Raymond bequeathed to her three children all her money, notes, mortgages, stocks, bonds, etc., that remained after payment of her debts and the bequest to Alice Linder, to be shared equally.

As was stated in the discussion of Isaac's will, when he died his son, John, was directed to select six mules from the stock on hand, and that this selection was not to be included in the final settlement of the estate. In Raymond's will, written after Isaac's death, she apparently felt that M.P. McCalla and Leila Linder deserved equal treatment,

Table 37. Inventory and Appraisement of the Estate and Effects of
Mrs. Raymond E. McCalla - deceased.

We the Undersigned Sworn Appraisers of the Estate of
Mrs. Raymond E. McCalla- deceased respectfully report:
that we have viewed and examined all of the personal
Estate of the deceased in Abbeville, County as shown
to us by by the executors- and value the same as follows:

ARTICLES	APPRAISED VALUE
16 Mules and 1 Horse	1700.00
3 2-Horse Wagons	75.00
1 6-Horse Engine	200.00
2 1-Horse Grain Drills	20.00
1 Feed Mill	13.00
1 Mower & Rake	20.00
1 Shreader [sic]	40.00
1 Cut off Saw	10.00
1 Shreader [sic]	20.00
1 Grain Drill	50.00
1 Thresher	100.00
1 Plow Binder [?] (old)	5.00
1 Harrow	3.00
1 Hay Press	7.50
2 Harrows	5.00
1 Disc Plow	10.00
1 Thos Harrow	4.00
5 #13 Oliver Chilled Plows	20.00
1 Stalk Cutter	5.00
1 two-Horse Carriage [sic]	50.00
1 top [?] Buggy	25.00
11 Hamers [?] Plow Stocks	5.50
6 Cole Distributors	12.00
3 Knocker Distributors	6.00
6 Cole Planters	15.00
12 Sets Plow Gear (12.00) & 4 Sets Wagon Gear (20.00)	32.00
12 Cows & 2 Calves	250.00
7 Calves	30.00
3 Shoats & 2 Sows	30.00
1 Corn Sheller	5.00
200 Bu Corn	150.00
350 " Cotton Seed	140.00
9 Grain Cradles	18.00
2 Doz Cotton Hoes	7.00
1 Wheel Barrow	2.50
1000 lbs Plow Steel	35.00
6 Doz Clerises [?]	3.00
18 Shuck Collars	4.50

Table 37 (concluded)

ARTICLES	APPRAISED VALUE
6 Plow Stocks	5.10
8 Single trees	1.60
10 prs. Hamis [?]	2.50
12 prs. Handles	2.50
96 Prs Pants, Overalls, & Jackets	60.00
Dry Goods Shoes & Notions	200.00
Hoes & Shovels	5.00
Household & Kitchen Furnture [sic]	500.00
Note & Mortgage Boozer Bonds	2500.00
" " E.J. Huckabee	400.00
	(6804.00)
Stock of The Lowndesville Bkg Co	250.00

because she directed that they, too, were each to select six mules from the stock on hand at the time of her death. All of her remaining live-stock, farm implements and machinery, and vehicles, Raymond bequeathed to her three children equally, but if they could not agree upon a division of property, she directed that they sell all of this property and divide the proceeds equally among themselves. She also bequeathed to her three children equally the proceeds of her life insurance policy in the "State Mutual Life Insurance Company," Rome, Georgia.

To her daughter, Leila Belle Linder, Raymond McCalla left her mahogany bedroom suite, her watch, and her diamond ring. All of her other household furniture, including her silverware, she left to her three children to be equally divided among them.

Finally, to her son, M.P. McCalla, she left the one tract of land that she owned in her own right. This was the land known as "the old McCalla home place," which was conveyed to her by Mrs. Mary [Georgia Mary?] McCalla Gaines. As discussed earlier, Georgia Mary McCalla, sister to Isaac H. McCalla, received from her father an interest in the old McCalla home place. It is not known, however, if she and Mrs. Mary McCalla Gaines are one and the same person. Raymond McCalla further directed that if her daughter's husband died without leaving sufficient support, M.P. McCalla was to use the rents and profits of this land for that purpose.

Because Isaac and Raymond McCalla died within such a short time of each other, and because their estates were so intricately interwoven, their three children, M.P. McCalla, Leila B. Linder, and John W. McCalla, chose to make a family settlement that combined the bequests given to them by both parents. In 1916, this family settlement was finalized. In terms of personal property, the settlement stated that the three children had already made the division of livestock, furniture, and equipment as directed in their parents' wills, and that there was no necessity to enumerate the various articles taken by each. The remaining personal property was primarily in the form of choses in

action (i.e., cash, bank stocks, mortgages, etc.). This property was divided in the following manner:

To M.P. McCalla

Advances during the life of I.H. McCalla	\$1,386.40
Mortgage of Mr. Toc Graves	4,082.63
Mortgage of Boozer Bonds	2,608.17
Stock of Hartwell Bank	2,000.00
16 Acres of land (Frazier land)	160.00
12 Shares copper stock	120.00
	<u>\$10,357.20</u>
Less payment of note to estate	-976.67
Total	<u>\$ 9,380.53</u>

To John W. McCalla

Advances during the life of I.H. McCalla	\$4,256.83
Farm in Hart County, GA (106 acres known as the Lightwood Farm)	1,325.00
Stock of Hartwell Bank	2,000.00
Stock in Lowndesville Banking Co.	1,250.00
Mortgage of E.J. Huckabee	410.64
	<u>\$9,242.47</u>

To Leila Belle Linder

Advances during the life of I.H. McCalla	\$3,522.23
Stock of Hartwell Bank	2,000.00
Stock in Lowndesville Banking Co.	3,000.00
	<u>\$8,522.23</u>

In addition to these divisions, the settlement also included the equal division of 25 shares of stock in the Anderson Phosphate and Oil Company, each worth \$100; the money remaining in the Lowndesville Bank after payment of all estate costs (\$1,166.43); and the proceeds from the collection of two mortgages, one to J.J. Huckabee and one to R.M. Humphries.

In terms of the land left to them by Isaac McCalla, his children made the following divisions:

To John W. McCalla

221 acres, known as part of the Alston lands;
 226 acres, known as the Caldwell place;
 275 acres, known as the Speed place; and
 400 acres, known as the Baker place.

To M.P. McCalla

387 acres, known as the Stacy Burton tract;
 444 acres, known as the Lapiro place;
 [?] acres, known as part of the Alston lands; and
 104 acres, known as part of the G.R. McCalla estate.

To Leila Belle Linder

521 acres, known as part of the G.R. McCalla estate;
300 acres, known as the Norwood place;
147 acres, known as the Hal Belcher place;
70 acres, known as part of the T.A. Harris tract;
12 acres, known as part of the Lively tract, sold for taxes in 1887;
12 acres, known as part of the Newby land, sold for taxes in 1887;
22 acres, known as the Beasley tract, sold for taxes in 1887;
37.5 acres, known as the Newby lands; and
30 acres, sold for taxes in 1887.

After the land was divided between the three children of Isaac McCalla, they each apparently continued to farm portions of their own land, and rented out the remaining lands to tenants and sharecroppers. Very little is known about the actual land use during this period except that, from oral history accounts, it appears that the McCallas continued to be a major economic force within the area.

Mattox Pickens McCalla died in 1933, leaving no will. According to his probate documentation (Abbeville County Probate, Box 342, Packet 8684), at the time of his death, M.P. McCalla owned 500 acres valued at \$2,000 and one building valued at \$100. It appears, then, that during the 20 years between 1913 and 1933, he divested himself of at least 435 acres and probably more. It is possible that some of this land he sold to his brother, John W. McCalla. Two plats exist showing that in 1933 John W. owned the Lapiro place, and in 1947 he owned the Burton place also. Both of these were formerly owned by M.P. McCalla.

It is not known when Leila Belle Linder died, as there is no probate documentation available for her, but she apparently left at least a portion of her lands to her daughter, Alice E. Sullivan. It appears that Mrs. Linder survived at least until 1945, because in that year she and her daughter sold the Singleton Speed tract and the Clark tract to Dr. Lawrence H. McCalla. Dr. McCalla (it is not known what his relationship is to the other McCallas) had also purchased the Baker place and a tract known as the "River tract" in that year as well. The Baker place had formerly been owned by John W. McCalla. It is not known to what piece of land the "River tract" refers.

John W. McCalla died in 1942, leaving everything to his wife, Parniece B. McCalla (Abbeville County Probate, Box 362, Packet 9178). The estate documentation showed that John W. McCalla owned, at the time of his death, 801 acres and 4 buildings [houses?] valued at \$4,000. This included the Lapiro place, consisting of 400 acres and 2 buildings, the Clark place, which included 310 acres and 2 buildings, and an additional 91 acres. His personal estate was valued at \$200.

As stated earlier, despite the amount of documentation available for the McCalla family, the land transactions are still unclear. While M.P. McCalla appears to have transferred some of his land to his brother, John W.; John, in turn, probably transferred prior to his death a major portion of his land to M.P. McCalla's sons: Mattox P., Jr., James R., and John W. McCalla, III. It is known that John W. and Parniece did

not have any children, so they may have taken care of M.P. McCalla's children after his death.

In 1966, Parniece McCalla, Mattox P. McCalla, Jr., James R. McCalla, and John W. McCalla, III, divested themselves of all their landholdings to the Fidelity Company, Inc. At this time, they owned jointly 1,203.81 acres (Abbeville County Deeds, Book 102, Page 528). The deed reserved for Mrs. McCalla the right to live in her home until her death. Her home was the rebuilt "I.H. McCalla home place." The original house, probably built by the Speed family, had burned in 1942. A second home was rebuilt at the same location in 1943. After her death in 1972, this house was moved to a tract of land near the Ridge Church.

At the same time that Mrs. Parniece McCalla and her nephews sold their land, Dr. Lawrence H. McCalla also sold all of his lands in the area. These totalled 1,162.90 acres (Abbeville County Deeds, Book 102, Page 526). In 1969, the Fidelity Company sold all of these lands to The Mead Corporation. The lands were then used as a timber plantation until they were sold to the United States in 1978.

V. RESULTS OF THE SITE SURVEYS

CLINKSCALES SITE (38AB287)

The William F. Clinkscales site (38AB287) is located on Abbeville County Road 123, approximately five miles southwest of Lowndesville. The primary residential complex of Site 38AB287 is situated on the west side of a sharp bend in the road. On the eastern edge of the property and away from the county road is located the Thomas B. Clinkscales house site (38AB221), which was archaeologically investigated by Carolina Archaeological Services (Drucker et al. 1981). Just to the east of the Thomas B. Clinkscales house site was the property line between the Clinkscales' farm and the McCalla plantation (Figure 11).

The topography of the Clinkscales' farm is rolling, with narrow to medium width ridges dissected by several intermittent streams. The eastern portion of the farm, where the Thomas Clinkscales house was located, is the most dissected portion of the farm and has the narrowest ridge spurs. The upland soils are primarily Pacolet, Wilkes, Cataula, and Cecil. Soils in the Savannah River bottoms are mainly Buncombe, Toccoa, and Helena. The Clinkscales' house was built on Cataula soils. Evidence of terracing is present in several portions of the farm, especially north and east of the residential complex. The age of the pine forests on most of the terraces indicates that they were probably abandoned in the 1940s,

The contemporary landscape of the Clinkscales' farm is primarily forested with mixed hardwoods and pines. Areas still relatively free of trees are the river bottoms and the area in direct proximity to the residential complex. According to SCS aerial photographs, the river bottoms were being cultivated as late as 1959.

To facilitate the on-site survey of the Clinkscales' residential complex, a control grid was set up at 50-foot intervals. The datum (0 N, 0 E) was placed directly south of the well house (Structure 6), but north of the dirt road leading to the river bottoms (Figure 12). All visible features and structural remains included in the main complex were mapped in relationship to this grid. Each structure was given a number, and function was assigned to most of the identified structures and features. A visual inspection of other portions of the site that would have been suitable for habitation revealed only one other residential complex (38AB220). This was a small standing house (Structure 12) (AB1300-1A), well house (Structure 13) (AB1300-1B), and pigpen located northeast of the main house complex and on the north side of the road leading to the McCalla plantation (Figure 13). Several other structures known historically were not identified in the field. In total, the locations of 9 structures were identified in the field; at least 11 others are known from archival and oral historical sources.

In addition to surveying the site for structures and features, and mapping their locations in relationship to the site grid, a controlled surface collection was made of those areas where the ground was rela-

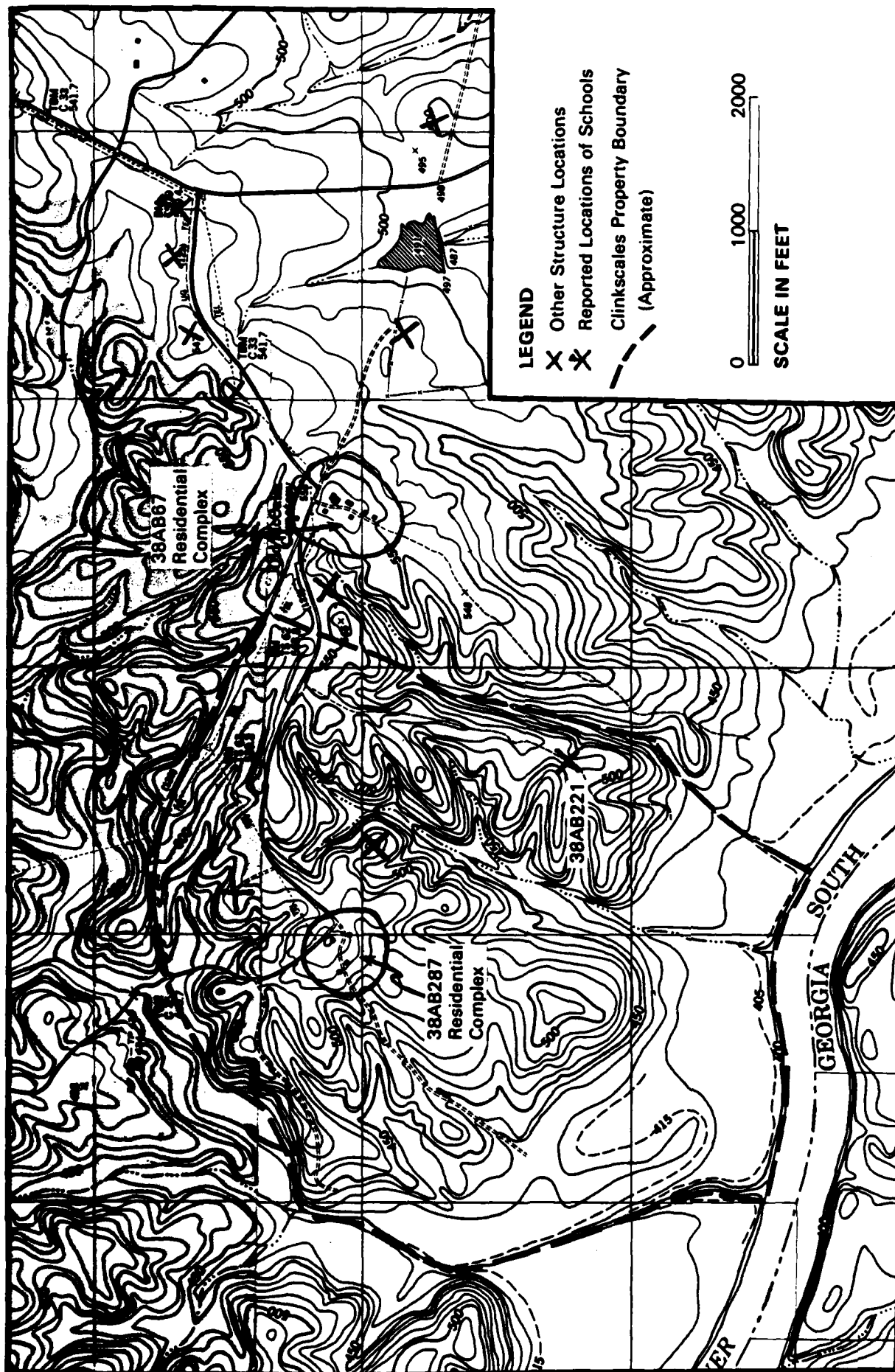
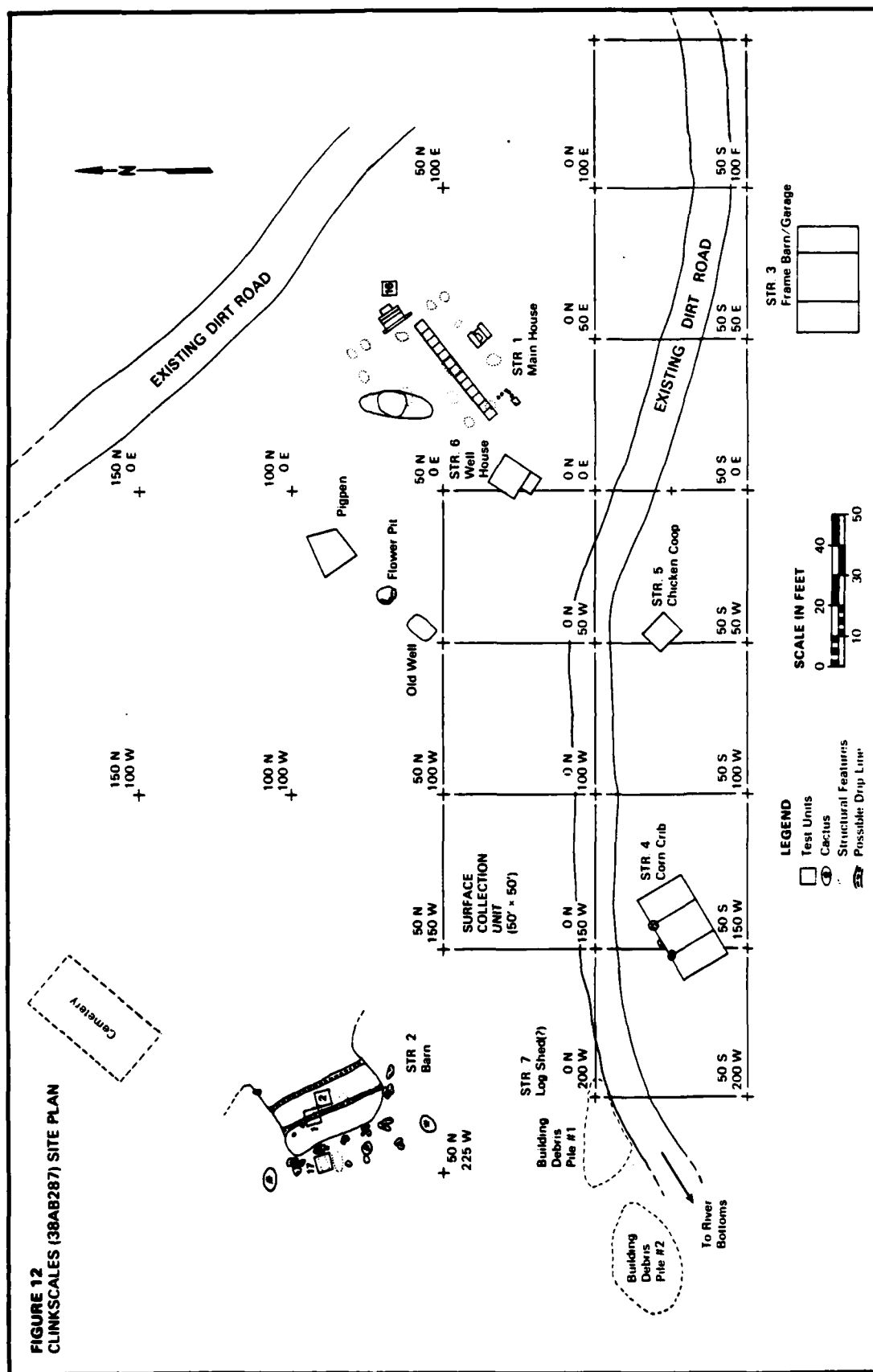


FIGURE 11
TOPOGRAPHIC MAP OF THE CLINKSCAPES SITE (38AB287) AND
A PORTION OF THE McCALLA II SITE (38AB67)



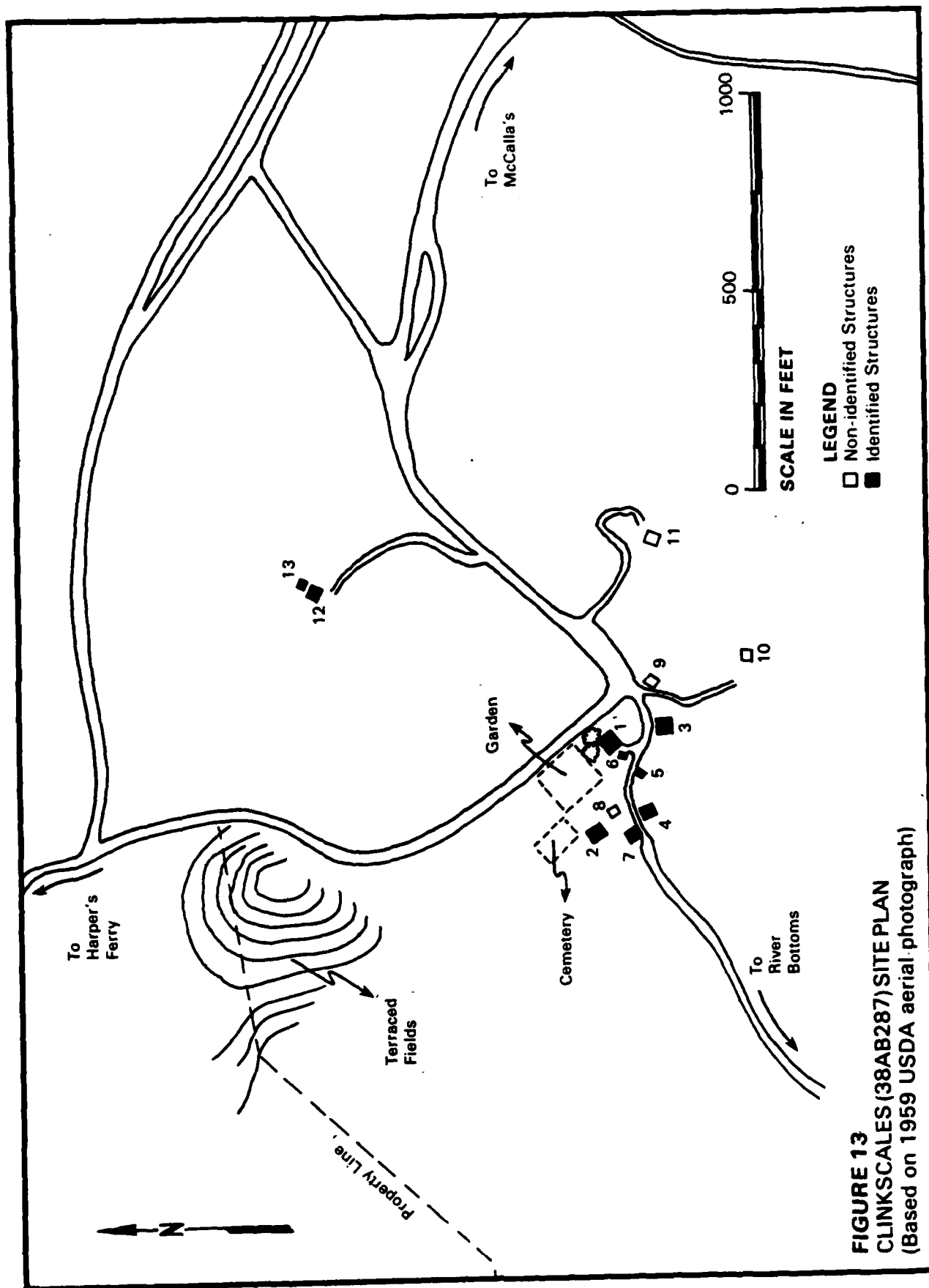


FIGURE 13
CLINKSCALES (38AB287) SITE PLAN
 (Based on 1959 USDA aerial photograph)

tively visible. This took place primarily along the dirt road leading to the river bottoms, where erosion has exposed a large amount of the area. Ten 50' x 50' units were systematically collected (Figure 12), and the recovered artifacts were bagged according to the collection unit in which they were found. The results of the surface collection were disappointing in terms of providing information on waste disposal patterns or the presence of activity areas. All of the units contained fragments of ceramics, bottle glass, or other domestic refuse, and half of the units contained architecturally related artifacts. It appears that over the years trash has been scattered throughout the area, with no observable concentrations.

VERIFIED STRUCTURE LOCATIONS

The remains of the main house at the Clinkscapes site have been labelled Structure 1. This house, which was probably built in the 1850s by William Franklin Clinkscapes, housed three generations of Clinkscapes, as well as several later tenants, before burning in 1977. The house site occupies a relatively high, level piece of ground. However, the terrain drops sharply in all directions but north just beyond the edges of the residential complex. To the north the topography remains fairly level to a point beyond the north boundary of the kitchen garden, where it begins to slope upward.

Where it was situated, the Clinkscapes' house commanded a fine view of the road leading to the McCalla plantation. The house faced in a northeasterly direction. Plate 1, lower left, shows this view of the road from the house as it appeared sometime in the 1930s or 1940s. Apparently, in front of the house at the time were two large magnolia trees that are no longer present at the site (H. Cook, personal communication 1982). Still intact, however, are several flower and herb beds containing various perennials, some boxwood hedges, a few crepe myrtles, and several other ornamentals of undetermined species. Mr. Cook also remembered that there was a picket fence around the yard, as well as a number of geodes that were collected in the river bottoms. No evidence of the fence was found, but several geodes are still present in various parts of the yard. Across the road from the house is a large English walnut tree.

The house itself, and the excavations that were undertaken within its perimeter, are discussed in detail in Chapter VII. One 5' x 5' test unit (T.U. 16) was placed in the front yard of the house site, however, to determine the extent and nature of possible yard scatter. The soil in this unit consisted of one layer of dark brown (10YR3/6) sandy clay above the red (2.5YR4/8) clay subsoil. Artifacts recovered from this level were primarily window glass, nails, and quartz flakes, with some additional ceramic and metal objects. Two features (Features 3 and 4) were noted at the interface of Level 1 and the subsoil. Feature 3 included three pieces of worked quartz and some burned timbers, possibly indicating a prehistoric origin. The prehistoric component at the Clinkscapes site is discussed in detail in Appendix A. Feature 4 was a shallow rectangular depression, approximately two feet long and one foot wide, that extended out of the south wall of Unit 16 (Plate 3, upper



PLATE 3.

Upper Left: Clinkscapes Site (38AB287), Test Unit 16, Feature 4, Possible Flower Bed.

Upper Right: Clinkscapes Site (38AB287), Structure 2, Non-eroded Barn Platform.

Lower Left: Clinkscapes Site (38AB287), Structure 2, Representative Artifacts from Barn: Two Large Strap Hinges and an Iron Crowbar.

left). The feature fill was a black sandy clay with a large concentration of historic artifacts, including metal scraps, window glass, nails, one fragment of curved glass, one fragment of unglazed earthenware, a brown-glazed earthenware doorknob, and several fragments of a metal hoop. Because the feature was so shallow (it ended approximately 0.4 foot below the interface between Level 1 and the subsoil), it appears to have served no major structural function and may have actually been the location of a flower bed or other associated feature. Most of the cultural material in the feature, none of which was burned, seems to have either been swept, tossed, or inadvertently dropped into the depression.

The remains of Structure 2 were found approximately 250 feet northwest of the main house (Figure 12). These remains consisted primarily of several stone piers and a raised earthen platform indicating the presence of a structure (Plate 3, upper right). A common feature at all of these sites, this platform was apparently created by the erosion of soil around the structure from rain falling off the eaves or from the effects of continuous yard sweeping. Two parallel shallow trenches, each about one foot wide and located about eight feet apart, ran the length of the platform from southeast to northwest. The platform itself measured about 25 feet wide by 35 feet long. However, a row of stone piers on the west side of the structure showed that there probably had been a later addition built on the side of the structure. From the placement of the stones, it appears that the addition measured ten feet across, and extended the full length of the original building. At each end and at the middle of the addition was located a cactus plant. This seems to have been a very odd placement for these plants considering the function of the building as it was ultimately determined.

Two 5' x 5' test units (T.U. 1 and 2) were placed on top of the platform. In both instances, Level 1 was very shallow (0.1 to 0.4 foot) and was situated directly upon subsoil. Level 1 in each unit consisted of a black/brown silty loam with much root material. Two features in Unit 1 turned out to be large root molds. Artifacts collected from Units 1 and 2 were primarily common nails, both cut and drawn, plus a metal key and a small wrecking bar (Plate 3, lower left). A third test unit (T.U. 17) was placed in the area of the later addition to the building. The placement of this test unit was determined by the presence of a rectangular depression (Feature 5), four feet long and three feet wide, of unknown function or origin. Excavation of the test unit revealed that at least two burnt timbers had lain in this shallow depression (Plate 4, upper left). Also included in the feature were cut and drawn common nails and two strap hinges (see Plate 3, lower left). Adjacent to and below the burnt timbers was a shallow area of ashy soil (Feature 6). No artifacts were found in this feature.

The archaeological investigation of Structure 2 did not provide firm evidence of the building's function, although by process of elimination it was believed that the structure had probably been a barn. This was determined from its relative size and the total lack of domestic artifacts. This interpretation was later confirmed by a local informant (R. Nelson, personal communication 1981). The dates of the

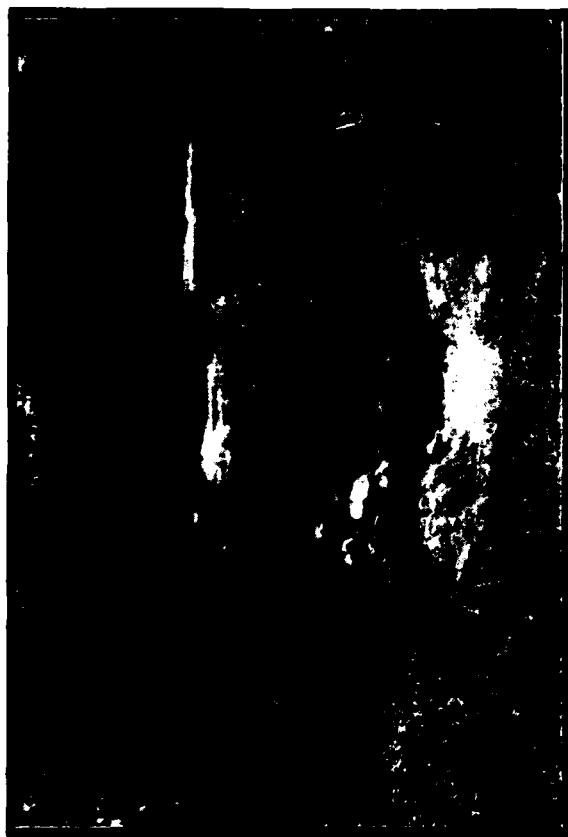


PLATE 4.

Upper Left: Clinkscapes Site (38AB287), Structure 2, Test Unit 17, Feature 5, Wood-Filled Rectangular Depression.

Upper Right: Clinkscapes Site (38AB287), Structure 3, Garage and Barn.

Lower Left: Clinkscapes Site (38AB287), Remains of Structure 4, Implement Storage Barn.

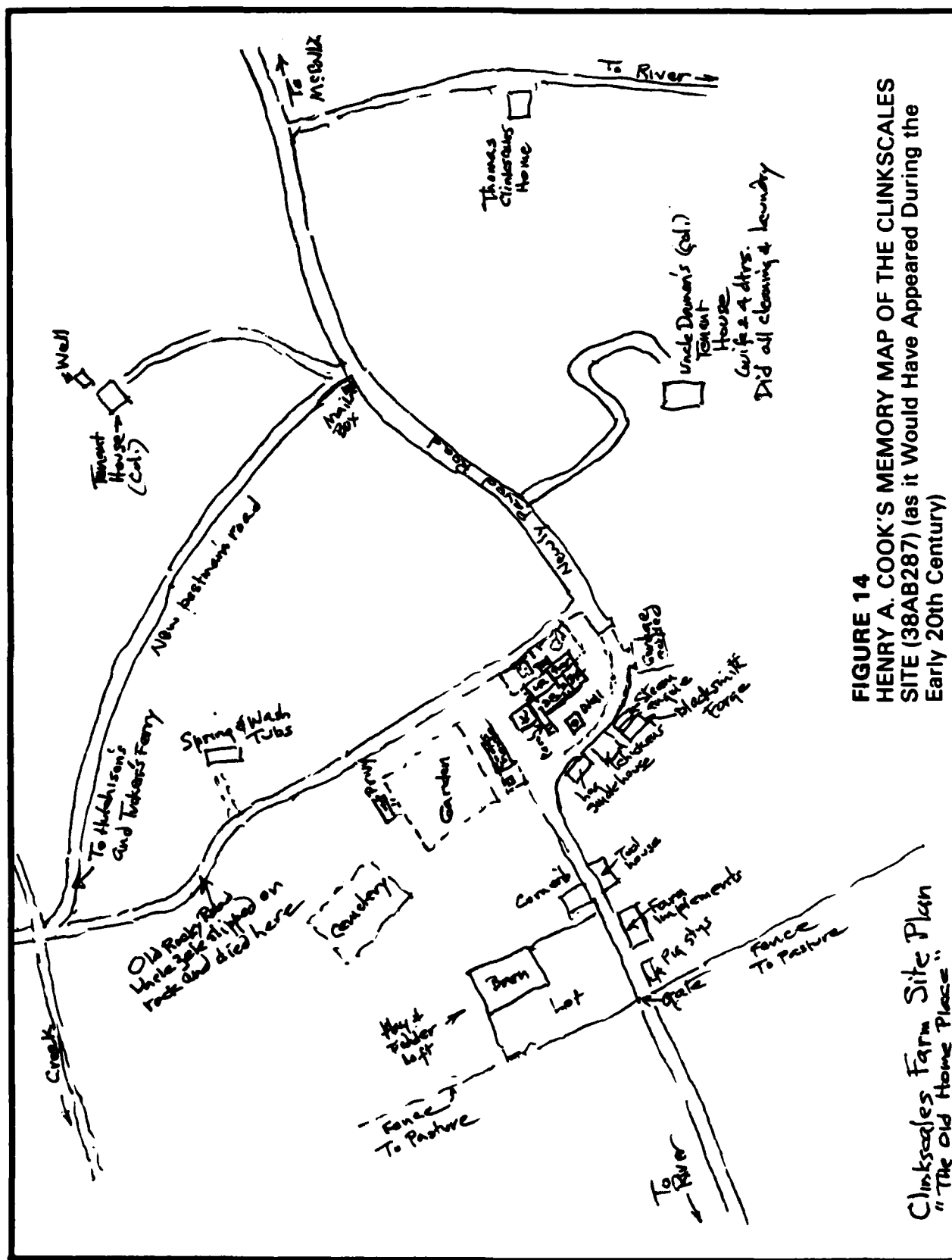
barn are still unknown, although judging from the combination of cut and wire-drawn nails that were collected, it was probably built in the late nineteenth century. Mr. Cook remembered its being in this location when he was a young boy, so it probably was in use at least until the 1920s. The two parallel trenches were determined to be wheel ruts. The burned timbers and the hinges in Unit 17 indicate that there may have been a small door or shuttered window somewhere in this location. It appears that the barn, or at least the addition, must have been destroyed by fire.

Structure 3 is a standing frame barn and garage located about 100 feet south of the main house, on the south side of the road leading to the river bottoms (Plate 4, upper right). This 3-bay structure was originally recorded by the HABS survey team in 1979 (Site Number AB1300-A). It was described as a 1-story balloon frame barn with additions, measuring 37' x 20'. The gable and side shed roofs are covered with sheetmetal roofing and the sides are covered with clapboard siding. According to HABS, the structure dates to around 1880-1890. However, in his memory map of the site (Figure 14), Henry Cook showed this building as being a later addition to the complex, since he did not remember it being in this location when he visited the site during the early 20th century. It is possible that this may in fact have been the blacksmith shop shown on Cook's map. If such is the case, then it was a very large smithy. There is no evidence, moreover, that the building was ever used for anything other than a garage and machine shed. It may be possible that the date of construction assigned to this building was incorrect.

Located 200 feet, more or less, southwest of the main house, the remains of Structure 4 have been identified as a storage barn for farm implements (Figure 14). Now collapsed (Plate 4, lower left), this barn while still standing was also recorded by HABS personnel (Site Number AB1300-B). It was described as a 1-story, 3-bay, balloon frame barn that measured 31' x 17'. The roof of all three bays, a central gable and two sheds, was covered with sheetmetal, and the walls were of clapboard siding. The foundations were granite fieldstone piers. This barn was also dated by HABS to the period from 1880 to 1890.

Structure 5 is a small, very delapidated frame and log shed, situated approximately 75 feet southwest of the main house, that was used as a chicken coop during the latter years of the farm's existence (Plate 5, upper left). According to the HABS survey, the construction date of this building was probably around 1930. However, it is extremely likely that this same location was used for either this chicken coop or another one as early as the first decade of the twentieth century (Figure 14).

Structure 6 is the collapsed well house located directly behind the main house (Figure 12). Very little is known about this building and its construction, although from the remains it appears to have been a frame structure covered with a sheetmetal roof. It was built at least as early as the first decade of the twentieth century, as evidenced by Henry Cook's memory map (Figure 14). Mr. Cook remembered the well as having a bucket and winch mechanism. This is substantiated by the sale bill of Ezekiel Clinkscales' estate (see Table 14).



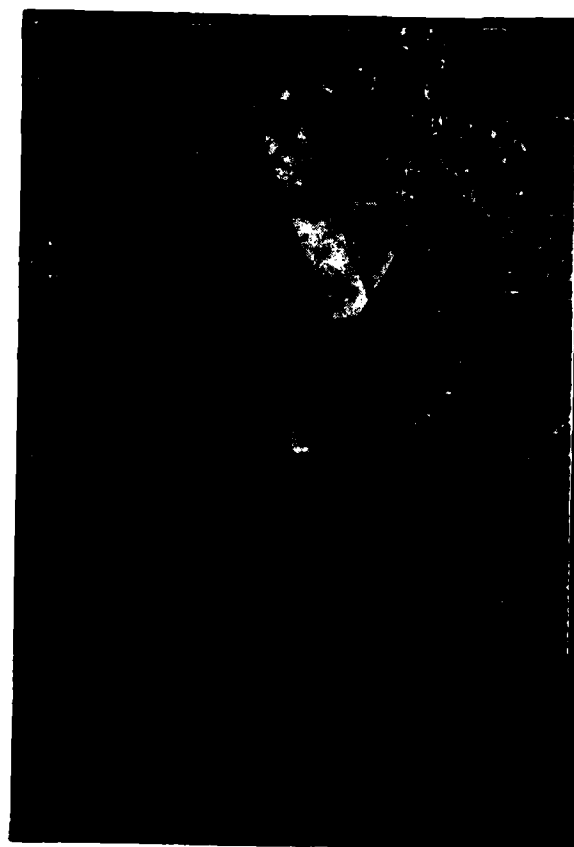


PLATE 5.

Upper Left: Clinkscates Site (38AB287), Structure 5, Chicken Coop.

Upper Right: Clinkscates Site (38AB287), Remains of "Old Well" House.

Lower Left: Clinkscates Site (38AB287), Flower Pit.

Situated south of Structure 2 but north of the dirt road leading to the bottoms was the log and frame corn crib photographed during the initial surveys of the project area (Structure 7). This structure had a 1-bay transverse hewn log crib with an overhanging 2-bay frame second story. The frame portion of the barn was supported on its far end by vertical log posts. All that now remains of the corn crib are two piles of building debris (logs, planks, and metal roofing) alongside the dirt road (Figure 12). When shown a xeroxed photograph of Structure 7, Mr. Cook did not recognize it. He remembered the corn crib as being totally of log construction and not as large as this one. It is possible that this structure was built after 1920 or, more likely, that Structure 7 was an enlarged version of the earlier crib. Mr. Cook also remembered that five apple trees were located to the east of the corn crib, the locations of which were not verified in the field.

During the survey of outlying areas of the farm, Structures 12 and 13 were identified. They had originally been discovered by the HABS survey team in 1979 (Site Numbers AB1300-1A and AB1300-1B). The two buildings are located at least 750 feet northwest of the main house, on the north side of the road leading to the McCalla plantation (Figure 13). Structure 12 is a 1-story, balloon frame dwelling built on granite fieldstone piers. This T-shaped, 3-room house has a gable roof covered with sheetmetal; boxed eaves; chapboard siding; interior sheathing; and a central brick chimney. It is in an extremely deteriorated condition. Associated with the house is a small open-sided post and frame well house (Structure 13), also in poor condition, and an open hog pen. Both structures were dated by HABS to around 1880. According to Figure 14, this was the location of one of the tenant houses associated with the Clinkscales' farm. During the time that Henry Cook was visiting the Clinkscales' farm as a child, he recalled that several of the men who worked on the farm lived in this house. Randolph Nelson remembers that the last person who lived in this house was Lojus Carlson.

UNVERIFIED STRUCTURE LOCATIONS

It was determined from several sources that not all of the buildings once present at the Clinkscales' farm were positively identified in the field. According to the 1959 aerial photograph of the site (Figure 13) and Henry Cook's memory map (Figure 14), a number of other buildings were also located at the site. The additional buildings on Figure 13 have been given structure numbers, but those on Henry Cook's map have not.

Structure 8 appears to have been a small shed associated with the barn located west of the house (Structure 2). Although it was standing as late as 1959, there was no evidence for its presence in the field. The function of this building is unknown, but it probably was associated with the raising of animals since it appears that Structure 2 was the primary animal barn in the complex (Figure 14).

The function of Structures 9 and 10 is also unknown. Structure 10 may have been another tenant house, although Henry Cook remembered only two tenant houses at the site. The second tenant house was what has

been called Structure 11. This building was located both on the 1959 aerial photograph and by Henry Cook. Mr. Cook identified it as being the home of "Uncle Damon," his wife, and four daughters. Apparently, Uncle Damon worked on the farm while his wife and daughters did the cleaning and laundry for the Clinkscates. Uncle Damon had a book about Jesse James that Mr. Cook remembers reading when he was a child. Eventually, several of Uncle Damon's daughters married some of the men who lived in the tenant house across the road. Mr. Cook recalls that some of their parties were quite notable. No structural remains were observed at the site of Structure 11, partially because of the dense growth of honeysuckle. However, some glass and ceramics, as well as prehistoric material, was found near the location of this structure.

When the laundry was done at the Clinkscates' farm, it probably centered around the springhouse and wash tubs located north of the main house and on the east side of the county road (Figure 14). This area was not surveyed so it is not known if the remains of this structure still exist. Other buildings, the remains of which were not discovered during the survey, were the privy, apparently located on the north edge of the garden; the log smokehouse; the tool house; and several pigstys. The log smokehouse was apparently still standing when the initial surveys of the project area were conducted because photographs of this building do exist, but no evidence of the structure remains now.

During the field survey, several features were located between the main house and the garden that deserve special mention. An apparently deep hole, covered with a dense growth of honeysuckle, was initially interpreted as the privy. However, Henry Cook corrected this misinterpretation by stating that this was the site of the old well, which was later covered by an extension of the "cook's house," or presumably the summer kitchen. Near the site of this building, for which there are no remains except the well and some sheetmetal roofing (Plate 5, upper right), was found a flower pit (Plate 5, lower left). The flower pit is a very common feature on southern farm sites; it consists of a relatively shallow pit (18 to 24 inches deep), usually lined with stones or bricks, that was used as a winter storage pit for bulbs and tender perennials. The plants would be placed in the pit and usually covered with straw or some other form of mulch, and protected by sheetmetal laid over the top.

Finally, the cemetery associated with the Clinkscates' farm was mapped in relation to the rest of the site, and the number of visible marked and unmarked graves was noted. At least 15 people were buried in the Clinkscates' family cemetery; of this number three are unknown. The names of the remainder are included in Appendix B.

GRAY SITE (9EB45)

The site once occupied by Gilbert Gray is located on Elbert County Road 244 between the Blackwell Bridge on Beaverdam Creek and the community of Heardmont, Georgia. It lies approximately 1.75 miles southeast

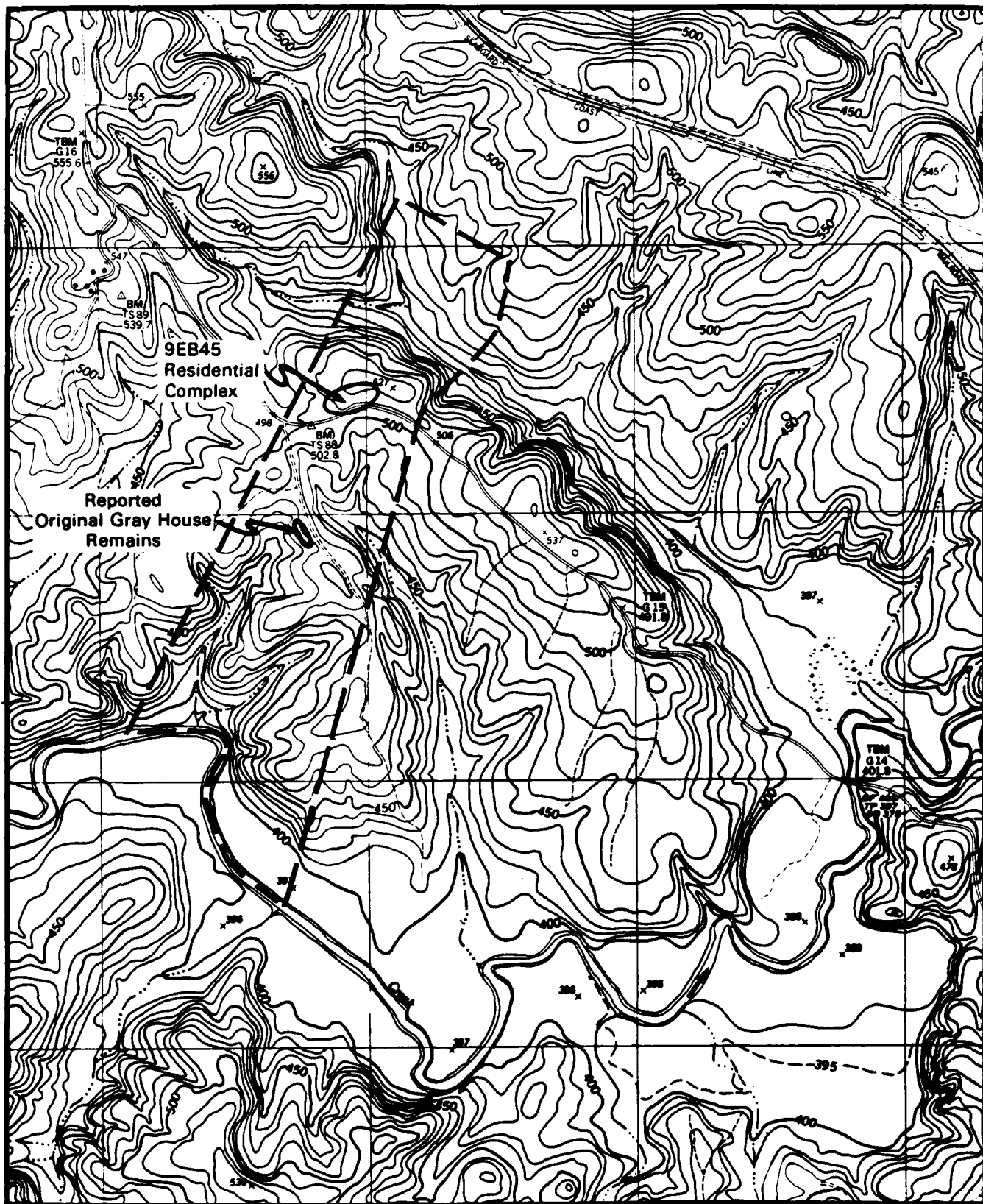
of Heardmont. Gray's original house site, as reported by Rufus and Bridie Bullard (personal communication 1981), is situated somewhere between Beaverdam Creek and County Road 244, but its location was not verified in the field. The second main house complex is located on the northeast side of the road near the edge of a relatively level ridgetop (Figure 15). The ridgetop itself has been terraced and farmed, although the field appears to have been abandoned at about the time that the house burned in the mid-1920s. The topography of the remainder of the farm is highly variable, with narrow to medium width ridges dissected by several intermittent streams. It appears that Gray's land did not include very much of the Beaverdam Creek floodplain.

After the house burned in the mid-1920s (it was being used for hay storage at the time), the land was eventually purchased by a timber company. It has apparently been logged at least once, but this must have occurred some time ago since the timber currently standing on the site is between 30 and 40 years old. The site, including the house complex, is forested with a combination of mixed hardwoods and pines. Near the house site were found crepe myrtle, scuppernong vines, and day lilies.

Several initial reconnaissance surveys of the site revealed the possibility that the structural components of the site had been heavily damaged because of logging operations. Therefore, it was decided that the site would be intensively surveyed and mapped prior to making a decision about whether or not to excavate a trench across the remains of the house. A control grid was set up across the site to facilitate the survey and mapping operations. The datum was located north of the supposed house remains, and additional grid points were placed as needed (Figure 16). All visible structural remains and features within the main house complex were mapped in relationship to this grid. Again, each structure was assigned a number, and attempts were made to determine the function of each structure and feature.

To determine the amount of disturbance at the site because of logging operations, a series of shovel cuts was placed across the presumed location of the house (Structure 1). A total of twelve shovel cuts was excavated (Figure 16). All of the shovel tests revealed that the soil had been heavily disturbed to a depth of between four and eight inches. Artifacts were found in all of the shovel tests, in the disturbed areas as well as pressed into the subsoil. The functions of the recovered artifacts were both domestic and architectural, the most frequent artifacts being nails (all drawn-wire), mortar, and brick fragments. Also collected were several fragments of twentieth century ceramics, bottle glass, burnt wood, and one piece of window glass. A general surface collection of the entire residential complex resulted in the collection of only two artifacts: one green overglaze, transfer-printed ironstone body sherd and one plain ironstone rim sherd. The somewhat dense understory and the presence of forest litter prevented the observation of the ground surface for the most part.

To complete the survey of the site, a metal detector was used to locate possible metal concentrations that may have indicated the pres-



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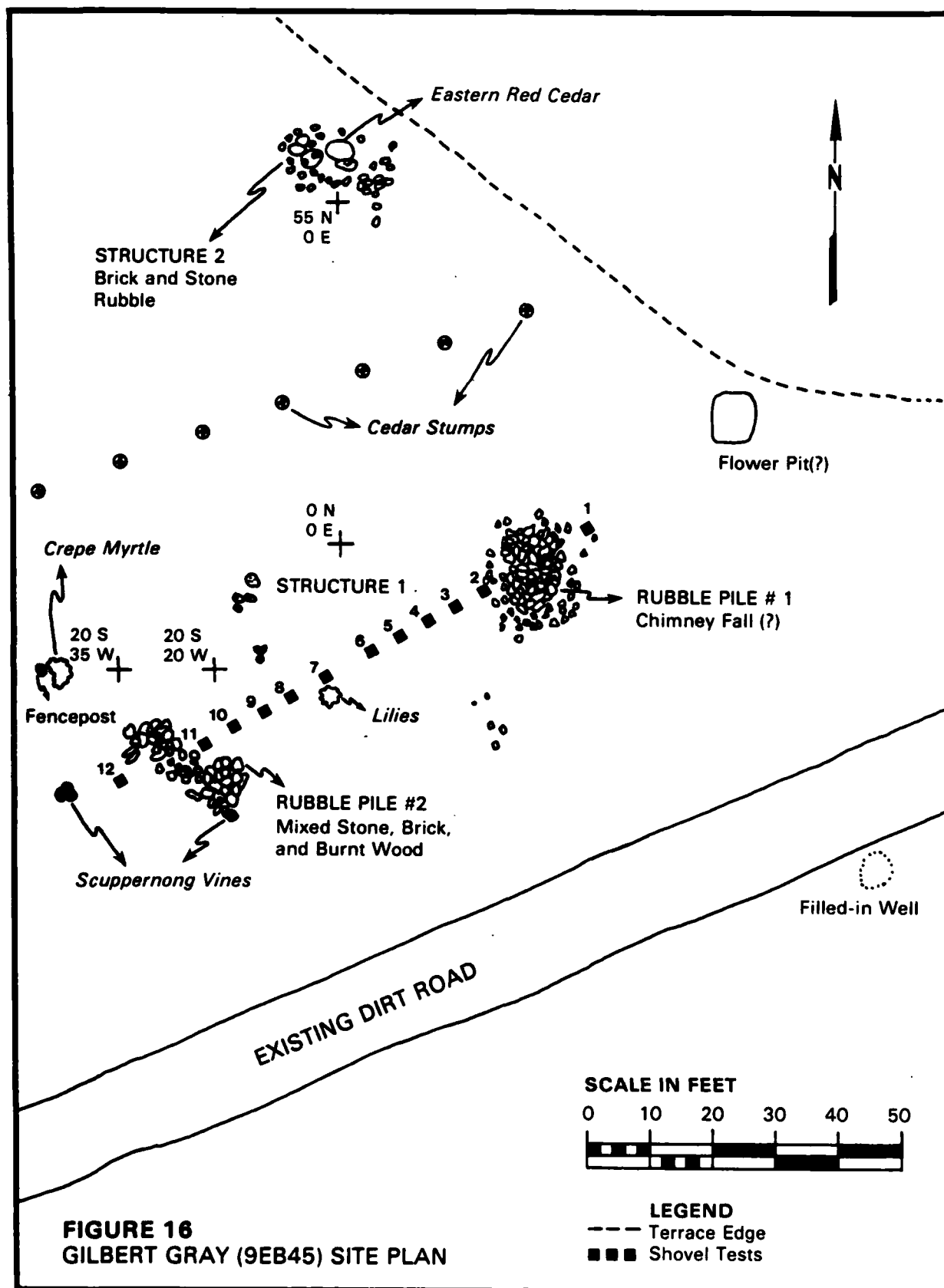
SCALE IN FEET

LEGEND

--- Gray Property Boundary (Approximate)

FIGURE 15

TOPOGRAPHIC MAP OF THE GILBERT GRAY SITE (9EB45)



ence of structures or activity areas. However, the results of the metal detector survey also reinforced the likelihood that the site had been badly disturbed by logging equipment. Positive readings were recovered across the site, indicating the widespread occurrence of metal rather than the presence of specific concentrations. Spot checks of the metal detector readings consistently revealed the presence of wire nails.

Upon completion of the survey it was determined that indeed the site had been subject to severe disturbance as a result of probable logging operations, and that there was no sense in excavating a trench across the house site. However, this did not prevent an analysis and description of the site's probable appearance prior to its destruction.

In order to describe the original appearance and layout of the Gray site, heavy emphasis was placed upon the results of interviews with several local informants. Separate conversations with Rufus and Bridie Bullard and with the White sisters, all of whom live just up the road from the Gilbert Gray place, resulted in almost identical descriptions of the house before it burned and the layout of the entire complex. This information was then compared to that collected during the field survey to determine the actual amount and extent of damage to the site.

The house was described as having been very similar to the White sisters' house, except that it was larger and had porches on all but the north side of the house. It also lacked the gables that are present on the White house. This style of architecture, as shown in the photograph of the White house (Plate 6, upper left), is locally described as a "round-top." The term refers to the hipped roof of this common vernacular house style. According to the informants, Gilbert Gray's one-story house had a central hallway flanked on either side by two rooms. Each set of two rooms was heated by a central interior chimney. An attached kitchen was located on the east end of the north side.

Measurements of the White house were taken as a comparison to the remains of the Gilbert Gray house. The White house was found to measure approximately 43 feet by 49 feet, and the stone bases of the interior chimneys are located about 25 feet apart, center to center. However, the two large piles of building rubble that are presumed to be the remains of the chimneys at Gilbert Gray's house are located 55 feet apart. Even if the Gray house was somewhat larger than the White sisters' house, it surely was not so large as to have interior chimneys spaced so far apart. Also, when an on-site inspection was made by the Bullards, they both agreed that the two chimney falls were not in their correct locations. Thus, it appears that the piles of rubble from the house have been moved since its destruction, probably during the previously discussed logging operations (Plate 6, upper right).

No intact foundation piers were noted at the Gray house site, although several stones were found randomly scattered across the site. Stones were probably used for the construction of the piers, but the possibility exists that red cedar logs or stumps may also have been employed. Cedar pilings are present at the Bullards' house, and a combination of stone and cedar pilings was found at the White house (Plate 6, lower left).



PLATE 6.

Upper Left: James White House, an Extant Example of a "Roundtop."

Upper Right: Gray Site (9EB45), Structure 1, Rubble Pile #2.

Lower Left: James White House, Cedar Log Support Piers.

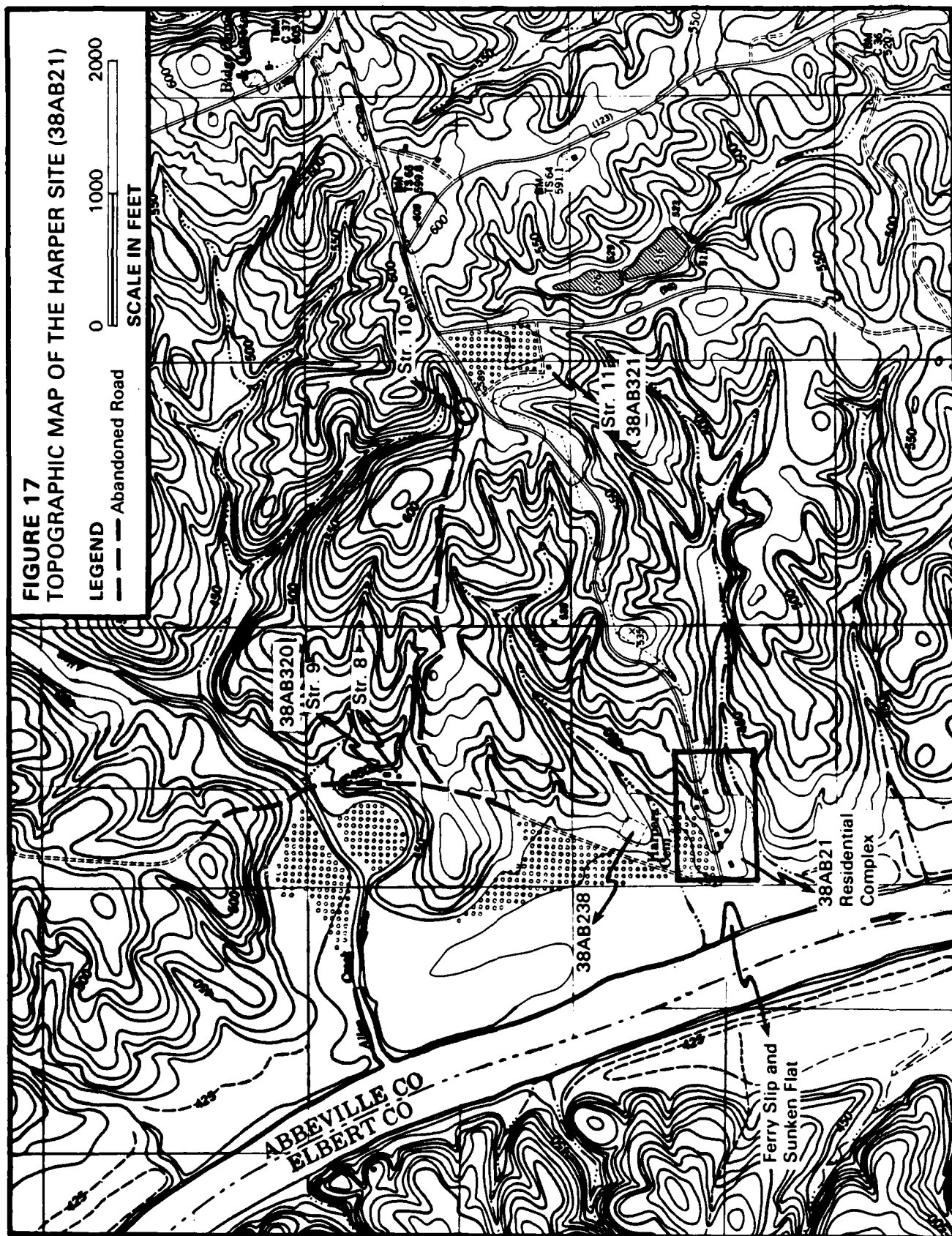
The remains of an additional structure (Structure 2) were found along the terrace edge, approximately 70 feet north of the presumed house location. These remains consisted of a thin scatter of brick rubble and stones near a standing red cedar tree (Figure 16). No artifacts that could aid in the determination of function were found in association with the scatter. The possibility exists that this material was moved to this location from another by logging equipment, since no building was mentioned as being at this location by the informants. If such is the case, there appear to be two possible origins for this material. The most likely source was probably the house site, especially since there is no intact evidence of the chimney that was undoubtedly associated with the kitchen addition. However, the possibility exists that this material originated at the barn, which was located, according to the informants, on the terraced ridgetop north of the house site. A survey of the ridgetop, moreover, failed to produce any evidence of the barn's location.

A chicken coop and a cow lot were also purported to be present at the site, but no physical evidence of either was recovered and the informants could not remember their exact locations. The garden was located west of the house site, and was separated from the house by a fencerow. The survey located one cedar fencepost still in place at the site (Figure 16). A flower pit, eight feet in diameter and four feet deep, was located east of the house site. These seem to be fairly large dimensions for a flower pit, but this was the function ascribed to the feature by the informants. The well, which has been filled in by Corps of Engineers personnel, is situated southeast of the house site on the south side of the road. Apparently, there was no structure associated with the well.

Finally, a row of large cedars apparently at one time provided a border between the residential complex and the terraced ridgetop. As stated earlier, the remains that have been designated as Structure 2 were found adjacent to a red cedar. In addition, a number of other cedar stumps were found in a line approximately five feet away from the edge of the terrace (Figure 16). The cedar stumps, most of which measured between 10 and 14 inches in diameter, were spaced at 10-foot intervals and appear to have been cut for quite some time. The remains of an old road that probably led to other fields was located north of the house site. In some places the road cut measured three to four feet deep.

HARPER SITE (38AB21)

The Harper plantation is located at the western end of Abbeville County Road 81, about 4.5 miles southwest of Lowndesville. A private dirt lane extends from the county road west for a distance of about 4,500 feet, or approximately .8 mile, before the main residential complex is reached (Figure 17). The house complex is primarily situated on the south side of the lane, although the remains of several structures were also found on the north side of the road. There are several standing



structures still present at the Harper site; these have been intensively documented by HABS and by Building Conservation Technology (BCT), Nashville, Tennessee. The HABS material has been incorporated into this report and cited when necessary.

The topography of the Harper site is generally quite dissected, with numerous narrow ridges and ridge spurs separated by deeply entrenched first and second order streams. The largest stream on the site, besides the Savannah River, is Allen Creek, located about 2,500 feet north of the residential complex (Figure 17). This was the stream mentioned as "Ross' Creek" in Lyndsey Harper's will. Despite the prominent topography of the Harper site being highly dissected, also included within the site are at least 150 acres of bottomlands, terraces, and broad ridges, primarily along Allen Creek and the Savannah River. Several established pecan orchards, comprising between 35 and 40 acres, take up part of this prime land; the remainder has probably always been intensively used for agricultural purposes. Some of the pecan trees in the orchards were harvested for firewood in the fall of 1980.

Many of the agricultural fields on the site, especially those broad sloping fields bordering the Savannah River floodplain, have been heavily terraced. Other portions of the site, particularly in the highly dissected areas, have been subject to varying degrees of erosion, ranging from moderate to very severe. The soils in the uplands consist primarily of the Cecil, Cataula, and Pacolet series, all subject to severe erosion. The soils in the bottomlands are predominantly of the Toccoa and Mecklenburg series.

While most of the Savannah River bottoms, the adjoining terraces, and other broad ridgetops within the site boundaries remain unforested, the majority of the Harper site is covered with a dense forest vegetation of mixed hardwoods and pines. Portions of the area have been logged as recently as two to five years ago, while others appear to have remained undisturbed for the last 20 to 30 years. More so than at any of the other sites under investigation, kudzu has taken over vast portions of the cleared lands at the Harper site, although the floodplain itself has been planted in coastal Bermuda grass.

To facilitate the on-site mapping and survey of the Harper site, a control grid was established at 50-foot intervals. The base line was laid out across the main house complex to map the relative locations of the main house and other nearby structures. Additional lines were plotted to connect the outlying areas of the complex, especially to the east and north of the main house. However, the grid was also extended westward to include the barn complex on the edge of the Savannah River bottoms. Most of the grid points were shot into place with the transit. However, several incidental mapping points were located at some of the structures using triangulation methods. All presumed structural remains and standing structures were each assigned a structure number. Sometimes a structure number was assigned only on the basis of a dense concentration of artifacts. As much as possible, a functional designation was assigned to each structure.

Eight test units, each measuring 5' x 5', were excavated at the Harper site before it was decided that this was a relatively inefficient

means of collecting information under the conditions within which the project was being conducted. Each of the test units was placed in or near a structure. The soil composition in most of the test units consisted of a thin level of compacted silty clay overlaying subsoil. Relatively few artifacts were recovered, those that were being primarily worn ceramics, glass, and nails. Because of erosion, the topsoil throughout the site is very shallow. In some areas it appears to have been recently developed. This seems to have adversely affected the placement of artifacts in some cases. Specific discussions of test units, when necessary, will be included in the descriptions of individual structures.

Finally, in addition to the mapping of visible structural remains and the excavation of selected test units, an extensive program of controlled surface collections was conducted in portions of the Harper site. Moreso than at any other site, the surface collections at the Harper site were made easier by the sparse vegetation present along the primary ridgetop. Starting at the 0 N, 0 E datum and working eastward, then northward, a series of 23 collection units measuring 50' x 50', and two 50' x 100' units were surveyed. However, the results of the surface collections were surprisingly sparse. Only a small amount of artifacts, primarily ceramics, bottle glass, and prehistoric material, was recovered. The glass was predominantly brown or clear, and the ceramic material ranged from the first half of the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. The prehistoric material from the Harper site will be discussed in greater detail in Appendix A.

VERIFIED STRUCTURE AND FEATURE LOCATIONS

The main house of the Harper site (Structure 1), unlike the other houses investigated during the project, apparently faced the Savannah River rather than a nearby road. This, in itself, may lend support to the supposition that the house was built during the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries when the road system in the county was still in its infancy. It also demonstrates very clearly that the focus of the farm was always directed towards the ferry operations at the site and, presumably, towards Elberton, Georgia. The house, which burned in 1965, was situated on the south side of the private dirt lane that leads west from the county road (Figure 18). The house site is located on a medium width ridgetop that slopes gently westward to the floodplain of the Savannah River. The initial work at the house site and its surrounding area involved clearing the dense overgrowth of sumac, honeysuckle, and poison ivy that had taken over the site since its destruction. Ornamentals that were observed and included on the site map were a chinaberry tree across the driveway and to the southeast of the house, and four large cedars in what would have been the front yard of the house. Other ornamentals observed at the site, but not mapped, included several crepe myrtles by the garage and at the southwest entrance of the driveway into the residential complex.

The house site itself, and the trench excavations undertaken within its perimeter, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter VII. However, some mention should be made here about the search for the semi-attached summer kitchen. Discussions with two local informants, Bandon Hutchison and Gaines Morrow, revealed that the summer kitchen had been located on the south side of the house, between it and the well house. A breezeway connected the house, from the concrete steps on its south side, to the kitchen. It is not known when the kitchen was torn down. A test unit (T.U. 1) was excavated adjacent to the house on the south side, but the excavations revealed nothing but a recently developed, thin layer of topsoil on top of hard-baked subsoil. Later it was discovered that the kitchen lay further south than had originally been thought, and that it has probably been destroyed by the extension of the driveway to the west side of the well house (Figure 18). The location of the summer kitchen in relationship to the house is shown in Figure 40.

Structure 2 is a blacksmith shop that is located at the 100 N, 200 E grid point, on the north side of the lane (Figure 19). The shop was built between 1920 and 1925 by Robert Morrow, the father of Gaines Morrow, and was used by Gaines Morrow's brother, Lester, who lived at the Harper site until his death in 1978. The log building, which was constructed on stone piers, is now in a partial state of collapse (Plate 7, upper left). It measures approximately 16'4" north-south by 12'4" east-west. The logs are joined with double saddle notching, and the roof is covered with standing-seam metal. A door is located on the south side, and an unglazed window is present on the east side of the building. Inside the shop was found the clay-filled wooden forge box, the wooden foot stand for the anvil, and two rows of shelving (Figure 20). A trash pit was found near the northwest corner of the shop, but further examination revealed that it had been heavily disturbed by bottle collectors.

Two test units were excavated at the blacksmith shop, one just outside the entrance to the shop (T.U. 2) and one on the inside (T.U. 4). Because of the cramped nature of the shop interior, Test Unit 4 only measured three feet square. In Test Unit 2, a thin layer of dark reddish brown (5YR2.5/2) loamy clay (Level 1) overlay a subsoil of dark brown (7.5YR3/4) clay. The artifacts recovered from Level 1 certainly provide further indication of this structure's function. Included in the assemblage are a broken iron hoe blade and handle, nails, tacks, rivets, staples, screws, bolts, cotter pins, washers, nuts, a fragment of a band saw blade, a pointed valve, and numerous pieces of metal, clinker, slag, and charcoal. The soil in Test Unit 4 consisted of a strong brown (7.5YR5/6), oily clay. Again, the artifacts recovered from this unit are indicative of the types of materials found in a blacksmith shop, especially in regards to harness repair, although it appears that the Morrows may also have been using this building for automotive and/or small engine repair. The collection includes spark plugs, a porcelain cylinder, a tire valve, a broken pair of scissors, a sprocketed brass wheel, sections of chain, generator brushes, battery caps, various pieces of leather strap, buckles, glove fragments, nails, iron plow blade pieces, copper plumbing supplies, and quantities of metal rods and

FIGURE 19
HARPER (38AB21) SITE PLAN #2
STRUCTURES 2, 3, 4, AND 5

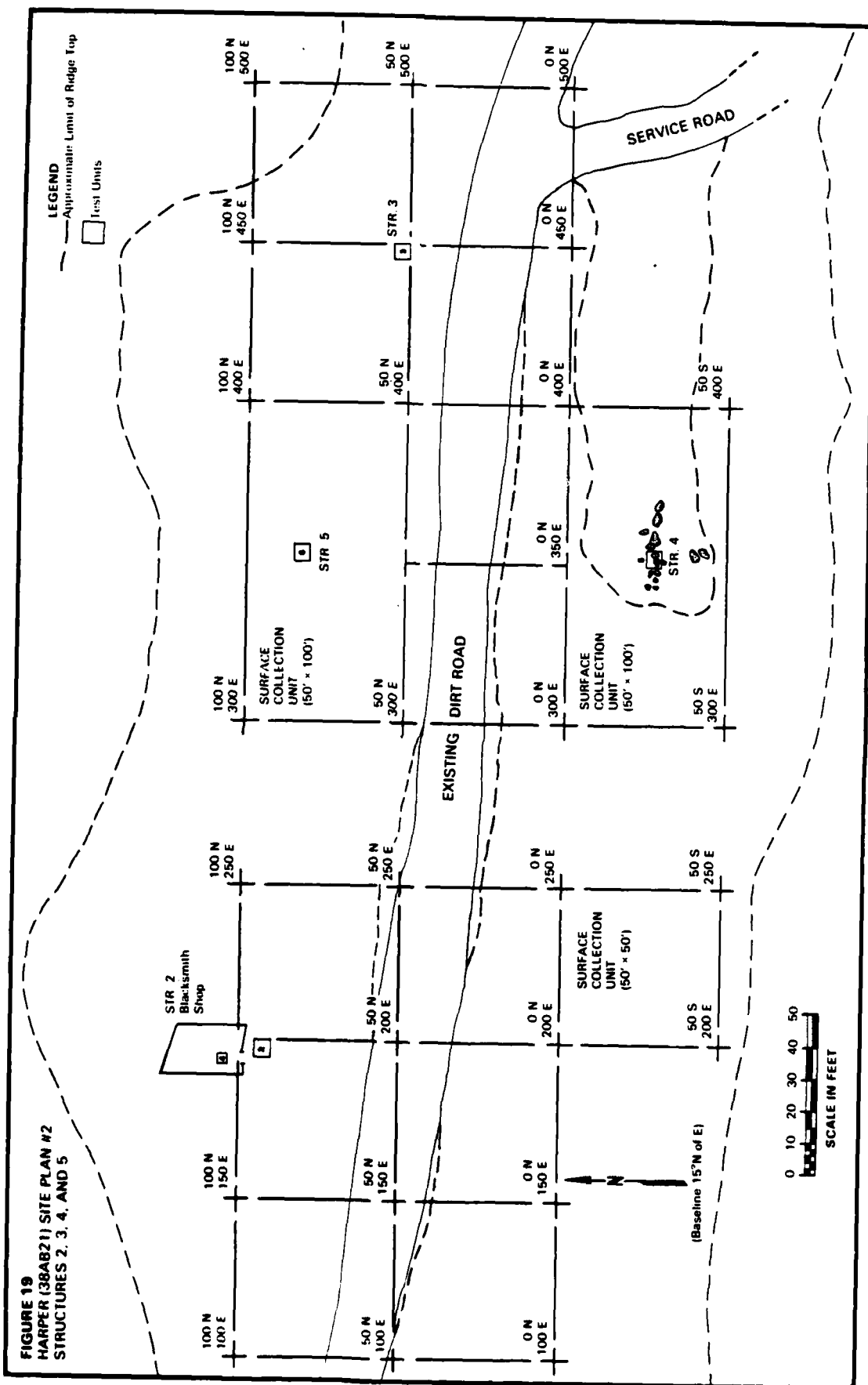


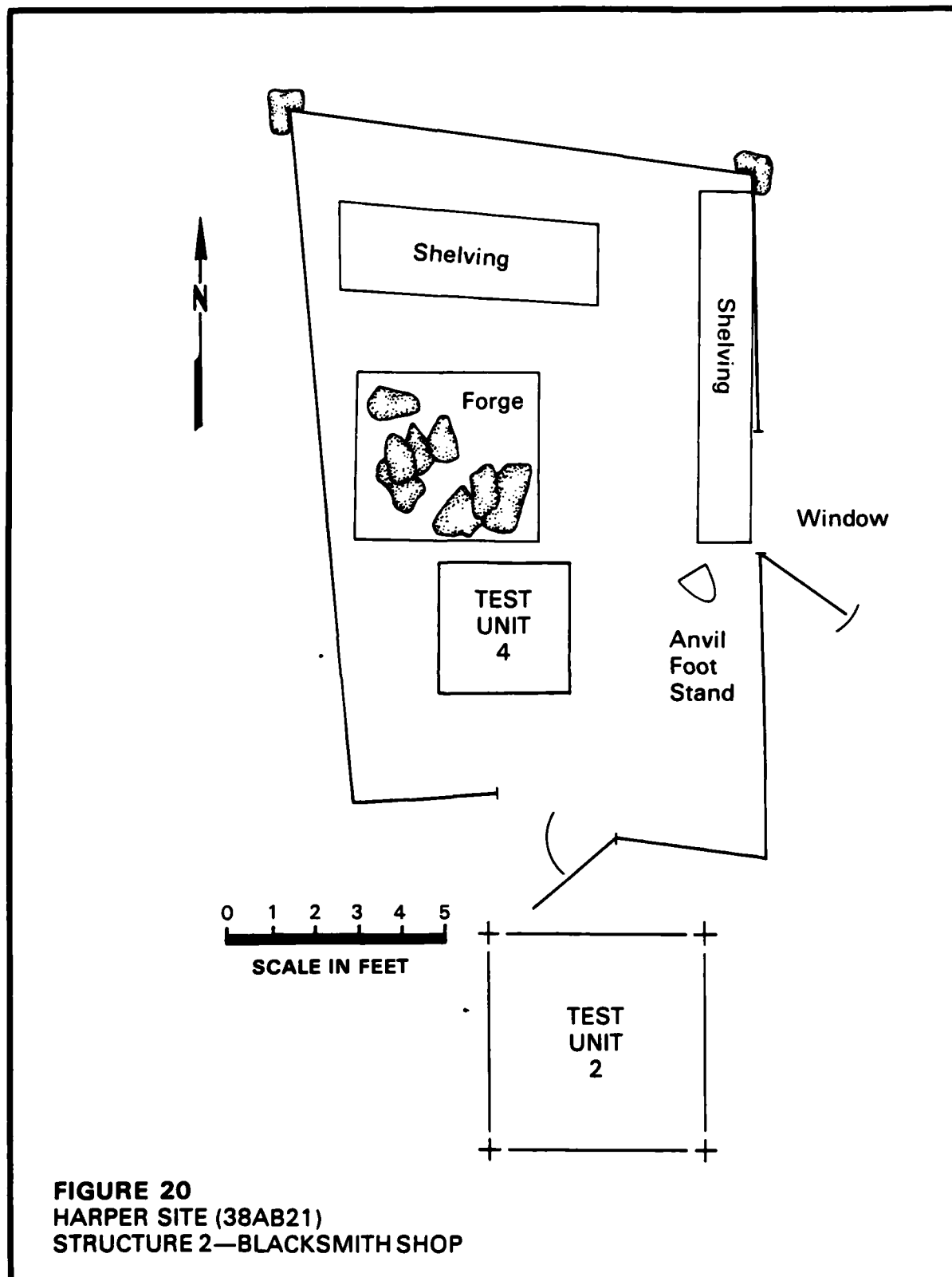


PLATE 7.

Upper Left: Harper Site (38AB21), Structure 2, Blacksmith Shop.

Upper Right: Harper Site (38AB21), Structure 8, Log Tenant House.

Lower Left: Harper Site (38AB21), Structure 14, Well House.



pieces. That this was not the first blacksmith shop on the Harper site is evidenced by the historical documentation (see Chapter IV). However, no evidence of other blacksmith operations was found during the survey of the site.

The remains that were labelled Structure 3 are located almost exactly on the 50 N, 450 E grid point (Figure 19). The structure number was assigned on the basis of a thin stone and brick scatter that possessed no recognizable pattern, a collection of artifacts, and the presence of some possible features. The possible features were, upon their initial identification, believed to be postholes. However, subsequent excavations revealed that they were probably rodent burrows.

A test unit (T.U. 3) was excavated in the center of the purported structure. The soil composition in the unit consisted of a compacted layer, 0.17 foot thick, of very pale brown (10YR7/3) sandy clay (Levels 1 and 2), underlain by subsoil, a yellowish red (5YR5/8) clay. A number of artifacts were recovered both from the surface and from the unit excavations. Surface artifacts include a number of burned ceramics, unburned ceramics (ironstone, pearlware, alkaline-glazed stoneware), melted glass, bottle glass (clear, aqua, and light blue), one stove fragment, and a shotgun shell. Excavated artifacts include a great number of additional ceramics (pearlware, ironstone, coarse red earthenware, whiteware, various types of stoneware, and hard-paste porcelain), bottle glass (amber, olive green, clear, royal blue, aqua, light blue, and brown), cut nails, window glass, a milk glass button fragment, a stone marble, additional cast iron stove fragments, and various nonidentified metal artifacts.

The function of Structure 3 can only be hypothesized, although the artifactual assemblage clearly demonstrates that this building, which was apparently destroyed by fire, served a domestic function. In addition, the domestic artifacts, which range from utilitarian to highly decorative, appear to date anywhere from the mid-nineteenth century to at least the first quarter of the twentieth century. However, the absence of drawn-wire nails in the collection indicates that the building was probably constructed during the mid-nineteenth century. Bandon Hutchison (personal communication 1981) recalls that a row of slave quarters was said to have been located along the north side of the lane. However, the types of artifacts recovered from the site would tend not to support the functional designation of this structure as slave housing. The large numbers of relatively high-quality ceramics and the presence of window glass would more likely indicate that this building may have first been used as an overseer's house and, later, as tenant housing or perhaps even the home for a member of the family. According to dates of manufacture for some of the artifacts, especially the amber and royal blue bottle glass, the structure was probably destroyed in the 1920s.

Located on the south side of the lane on the point of a small, eroding ridge spur between grid points 0 N, 350 E and 50 S, 350 E, are the remains of what has been called Structure 4 (Figure 19). To the

east and west of these remains are areas that have been recently logged. A concentration of large stones on the surface marked the location of the structure. Some of the rocks exhibited heat spalling. After the concentration of stones was mapped in, a 5' x 5' test unit (T.U. 5) was placed in the center of the heaviest concentration (Figure 21). Only one level, a compacted yellow brown (10YR5/6) silty clay, 0.3 foot thick, was present over the subsoil. Upon excavation of Level 1, a rectangular area of burned soil, 0.6 foot wide, was found extending westward out of the east profile for a distance of 1.6 feet. This, combined with the presence of heat-spalled stones, seems to indicate that the structure burned. Artifacts recovered from the surface include, again, various types of ceramics (coarse earthenware, pearlware, ironstone, stoneware, and porcelain), bottle glass (aqua, blue, olive green), one cut nail, a screw, and two metal objects. Artifacts collected during the unit excavations were more of the same: ironstone and coarse earthenware ceramics, a milk glass button, bottle glass (clear, brown, yellow), window glass, nails, a grommet, and several miscellaneous metal artifacts.

Again, it appears that this building was destroyed by fire, perhaps as late as the 1920s. Many of the recovered artifacts could have been deposited any time from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. While the use of this structure was probably domestic, the range of materials that were collected makes difficult the designation of this building as a slave quarters. Of course, the possibility exists that logging operations and erosion have combined to mix many of the artifactual deposits on the site, but this cannot be confirmed.

Structure 5 was found across the lane from Structure 4, directly between grid points 50 N, 350 E and 100 N, 350 E (Figure 19). This is a tentative structure designation based on the presence of an artifact scatter. No structural remains were located other than a few scattered stones. A test unit (T.U. 6) was excavated in the middle of the artifact concentration to determine if there were any intact subsurface deposits. Two levels were excavated. Level 1 consisted of a silty clay heavily mixed with ash and charcoal that ranged between 0.03 and 0.19 feet thick. Level 2 was also very thin and was composed of compacted silty clay and charcoal. A large number of artifacts were excavated from Test Unit 6. These include burned ceramics, unburned ceramics (coarse earthenware, whiteware, pearlware, ironstone, and alkaline-glazed stoneware), bottle glass (amber, green, brown, clear, olive, and light blue), melted glass, window glass, cut nails and wrought nails, a metal 5-hole button, and miscellaneous metal.

If indeed there was a structure at this location, then practically all remains of it have been destroyed. That this destruction may have taken place as a result of burning is evidenced by the large amounts of ash and charcoal in the unit excavations. The collection of artifacts at the site appear to date primarily from the mid- to the late nineteenth century. It is possible that this may indeed have been one of the slave quarters associated with the main house.

0 5 10
SCALE IN FEET

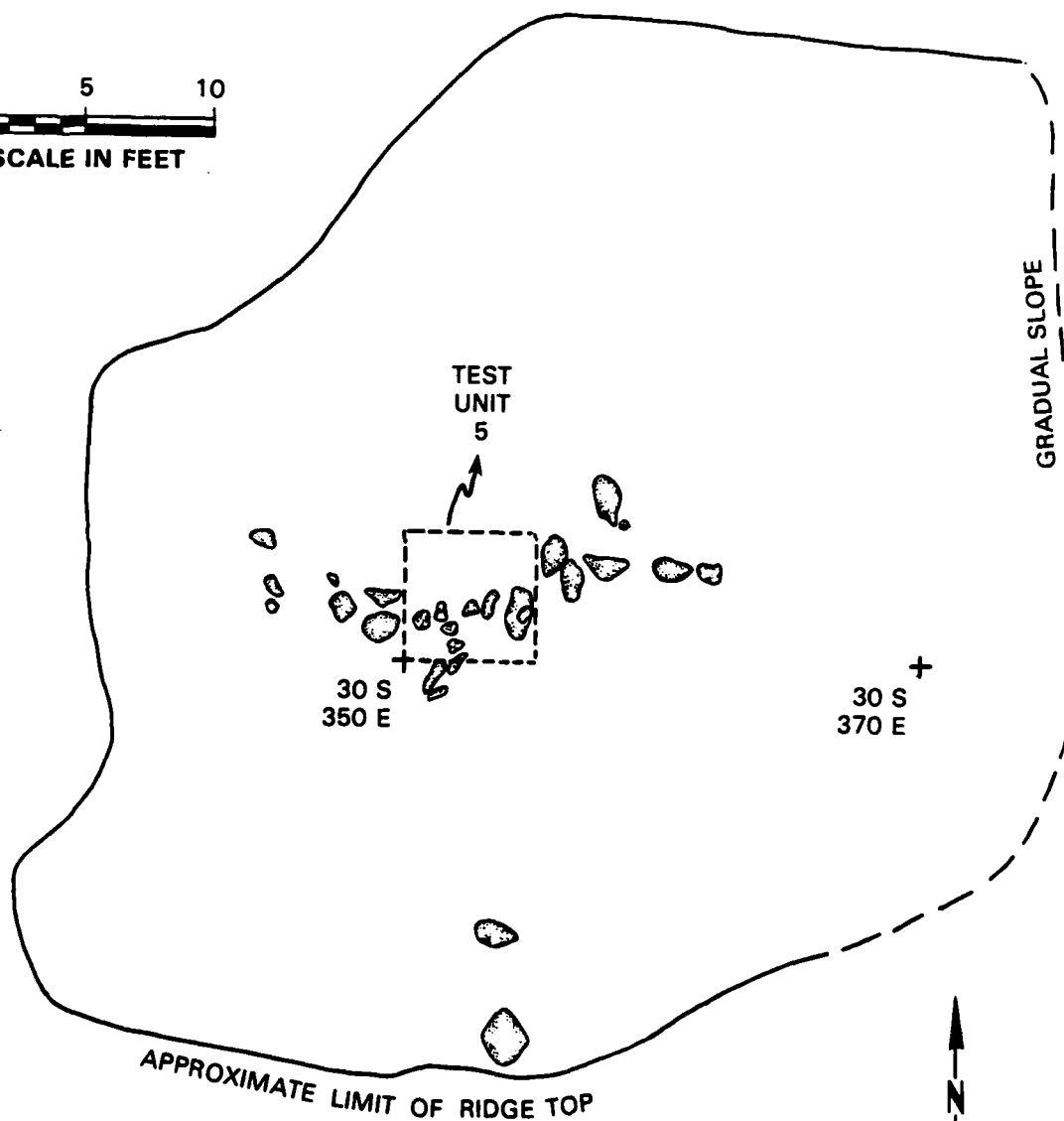
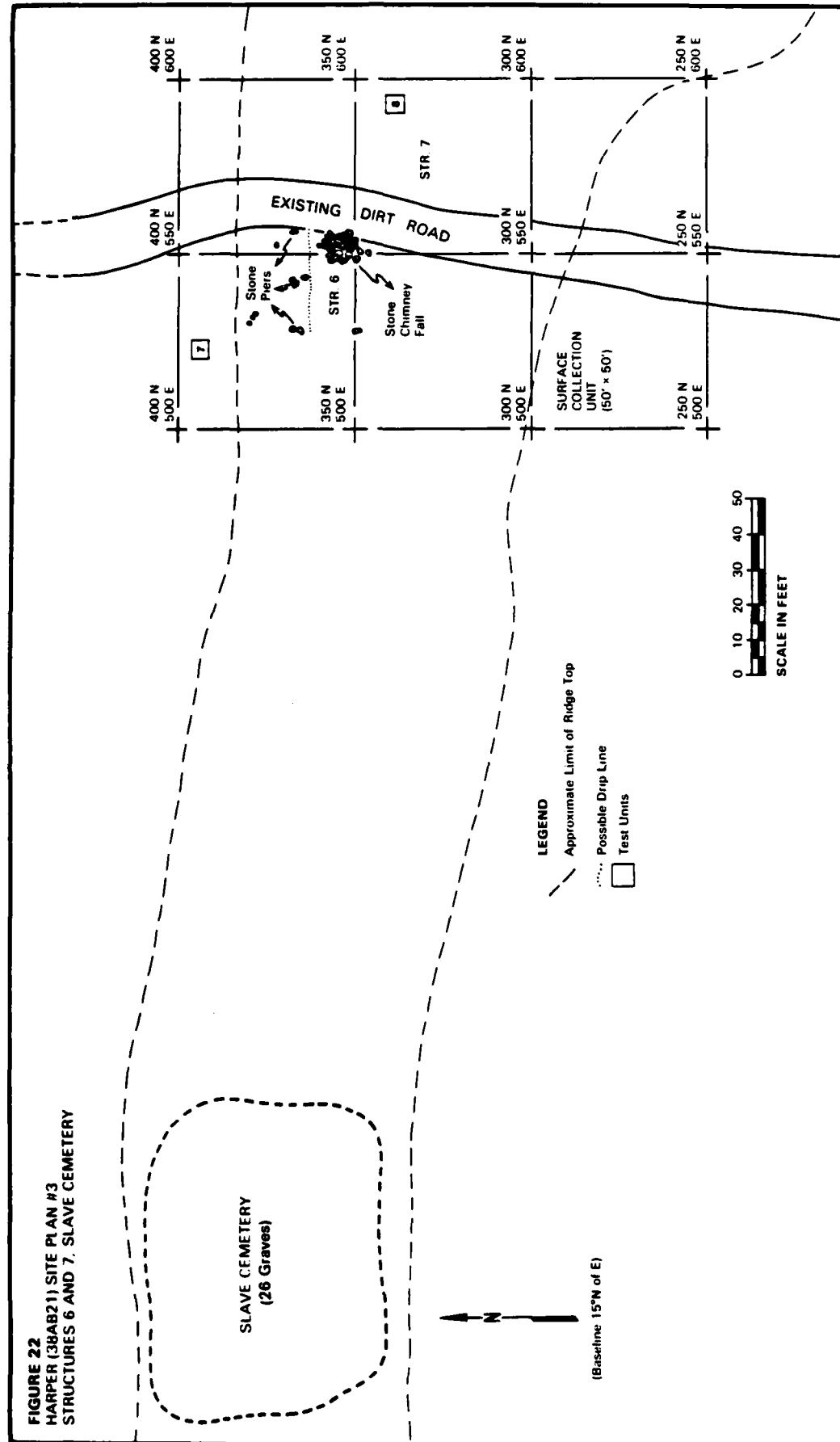


FIGURE 21
HARPER SITE (38AB21)
STRUCTURE 4



Located on a ridge that runs parallel to the ridge on which the main house complex is situated are the remains of Structures 6 and 7 (Figure 22). The location of Structure 6 was identified by Gaines Morrow (personal communication 1981) as a log tenant house that was still standing during his childhood. The house had a stone chimney on its east wall and the door was located in the south wall. Mr. Morrow, who is now 67, remembers that the house was collapsing at the time, and that he and his brothers quite often pulled the heart wood from the pine logs to use as torches for hunting at night.

The remains of the house, which is located adjacent to grid point 350 N, 550 E, consist of several in situ stone piers and the collapsed stone chimney fall. The house probably measured around 20 feet by 15 feet. A possible drip line was located along one line of the stone piers. The surface collection of the house site netted only one piece of porcelain, three pieces of ironstone, and one brick. After the surface remains were mapped, a test unit (T.U. 7) was excavated in what would have been the back yard of the house. The soil composition of the unit consisted of a layer of silty clay (Level 1), approximately 0.32 foot thick, underlain by subsoil. A few remains of burned timbers were found in the unit, but were determined to be a tree root. Artifacts included in the unit consist of burned ceramics, unburned ceramics (coarse earthenware, ironstone, and porcelain), bottle glass (amber, olive, aqua, clear), melted glass, glass buttons and metal eyelets, over 100 cut nails, and miscellaneous metal objects. Thus, it appears that even though the house may have been collapsing when Morrow was a child, it may ultimately have been destroyed by fire. The collection of artifacts would strongly indicate that the house was built in the mid- to late nineteenth century, and based on Gaines Morrow's recollections, it was probably abandoned in the 1920s.

The remains that were labelled Structure 7 may not even represent a structure location. Located on the opposite side of an existing dirt logging road from Structure 6, the scattered stones and bricks that were assigned this structure designation in the field may in fact be disseminated from Structure 6. However, the possibility also exists that a support structure for the tenant house was located in this spot. A test unit (T.U. 8) excavated in the center of the stone scatter revealed the same type of soil composition as in Test Unit 7. Artifacts from the surface and from the excavation include some ceramics (coarse earthenware, pearlware, and ironstone), bottle glass (light blue, clear), cut nails (one with a wrought head), and a small caliber bullet. The artifacts would place this structure, if indeed it is one, solidly in the nineteenth century, and its function was undoubtedly domestic. Perhaps it served as a kitchen for the tenant house. To the east of Structure 7 approximately 40 to 50 feet was found a well (not mapped). It appears, therefore, that this complex may have functioned in an autonomous manner from the main house complex.

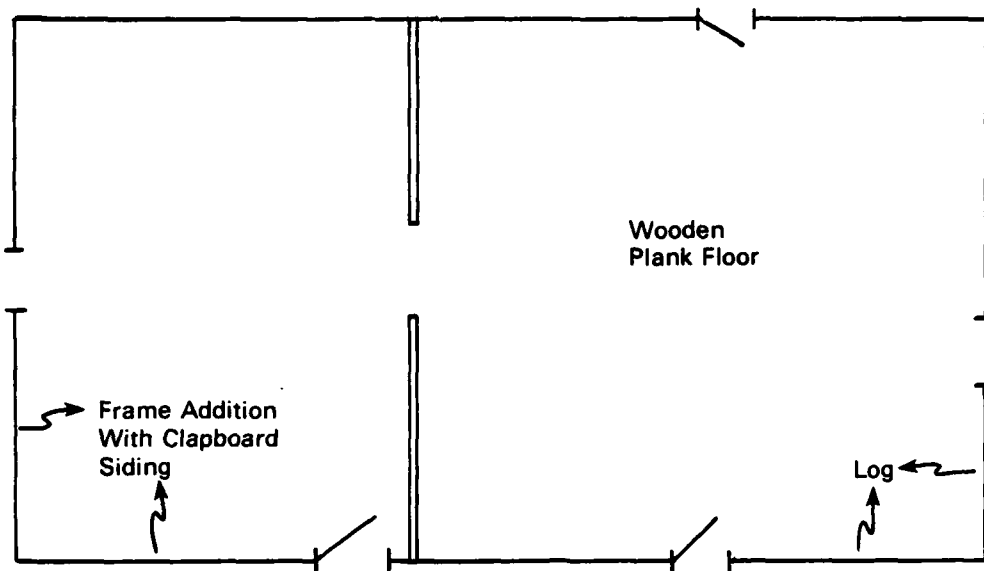
West of Structure 6 about 220 feet was found the slave cemetery associated with the antebellum occupation of the Harper site (Figure 22). A conservative estimate of the number of persons interred in this

cemetery is 26; there may be others. Some of the graves are marked by undecorated or crudely lettered fieldstones, while the majority are identified only by the depressions of the graves. The cemetery is scheduled to be moved by the Corps of Engineers.

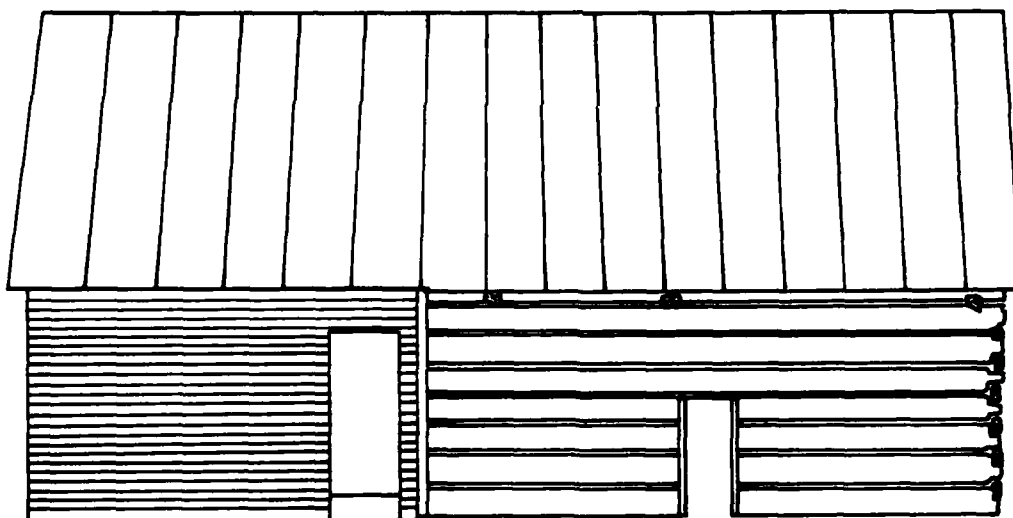
Located north of the Harper residential complex approximately 2,500 feet, on an abandoned dirt road, are Structures 8 and 9 (Site 38AB320) (Figure 17). Both buildings have been recorded by the Historic American Buildings Survey as HABS Site Number SC-381 (HABS n.d.). Structure 8 is a still-standing, hewn log house with a frame addition that was apparently moved to this site around the turn of the century (Figure 23) (Plate 7, upper right). It was, however, built during the nineteenth century. When it was moved, the chimney was apparently torn down and never replaced. Structure 9 is a nearby frame barn that was built in 1932 by Robert Morrow from timber that was logged on the site (Figure 24). The barn was built over a well that had been associated with the house, but had gone dry. Even though the well was filled during the barn construction, the compaction of the soil has caused it to sink, forming a pronounced depression in the barn floor. Both structures have been architecturally recorded by HABS, and persons interested in the structural details are referred to the HABS (n.d.) report.

Structure 10 is the designation that has been given to the remains of a house located on the north side of the lane leading west from County Road 81 to the Harper residential complex (Figure 17). This structure was identified by Gaines Morrow as having been an "old log house" that was inhabited by one of his brothers during the 1920s or 1930s (personal communication 1981). The remains consist of several in situ stone piers and a stone chimney fall (Figure 25). A possible drip line can be used to measure the dimensions of the house, which was apparently 28' x 40'. Five shovel tests were excavated in and near the structural remains. Surprisingly enough, no artifacts were found in any of the tests.

On the south side of the lane leading from County Road 81, and set back off the road about 500 feet, is Structure 11 (38AB321) (Figure 17). Located adjacent to a small pecan orchard, this still-standing building is constructed of hewn logs with frame additions. It has been intensively researched by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS Site Number SC-380). According to the HABS historian (n.d.), this structure is part of the original Harper plantation. The log portion of the house is believed to have been built prior to the Civil War, and may have functioned as slave quarters. However, local tradition also indicates that this building once served as a school. In the 1930s it was remodelled by the Morrows, and was occupied off and on by various members of the Morrow family until 1971. The various outbuildings associated with the house have probably all been built by the Morrow family. These include a smokehouse, a well house, a banjo-making shop (used by Lester Morrow), a privy, an animal shed, and a mule barn. The house and the outbuildings are described in detail in the HABS report (n.d.).



FLOOR PLAN



FRONT ELEVATION



FIGURE 23
HARPER SITE (38AB21)
STRUCTURE 8—TENANT HOUSE

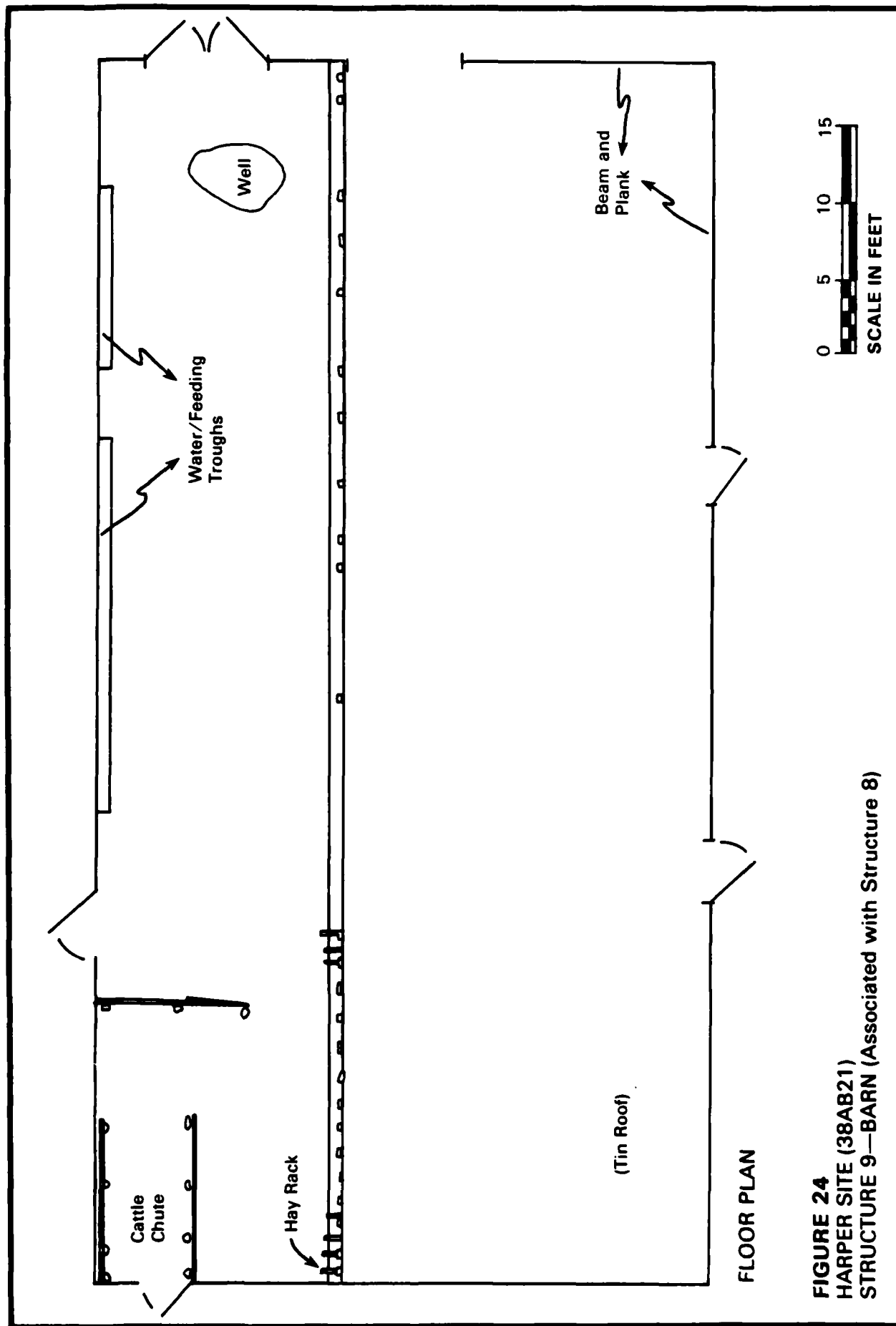
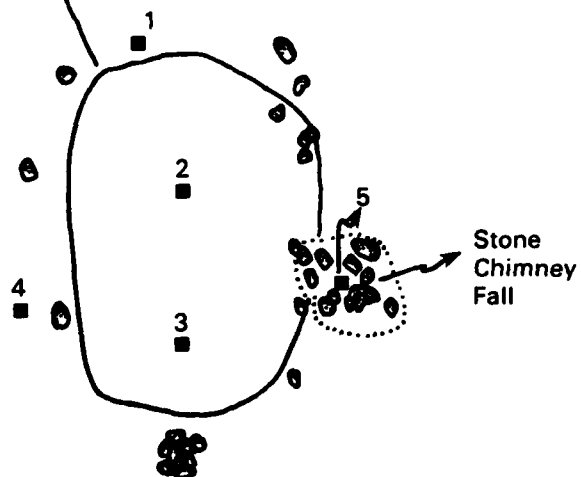
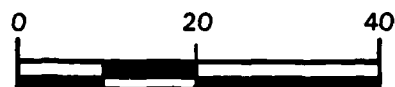


FIGURE 24
 HARPER SITE (38AB21)
 STRUCTURE 9—BARN (Associated with Structure 8)

Possible
Drip Line



SCALE IN FEET



■■■ Shovel Cuts

FIGURE 25
HARPER SITE (38AB21)
STRUCTURE 10

The remaining structures are directly associated with the Harper residential and barn complex. Many of these have been described in detail by the HABS survey team, so only their major points will be discussed in this report.

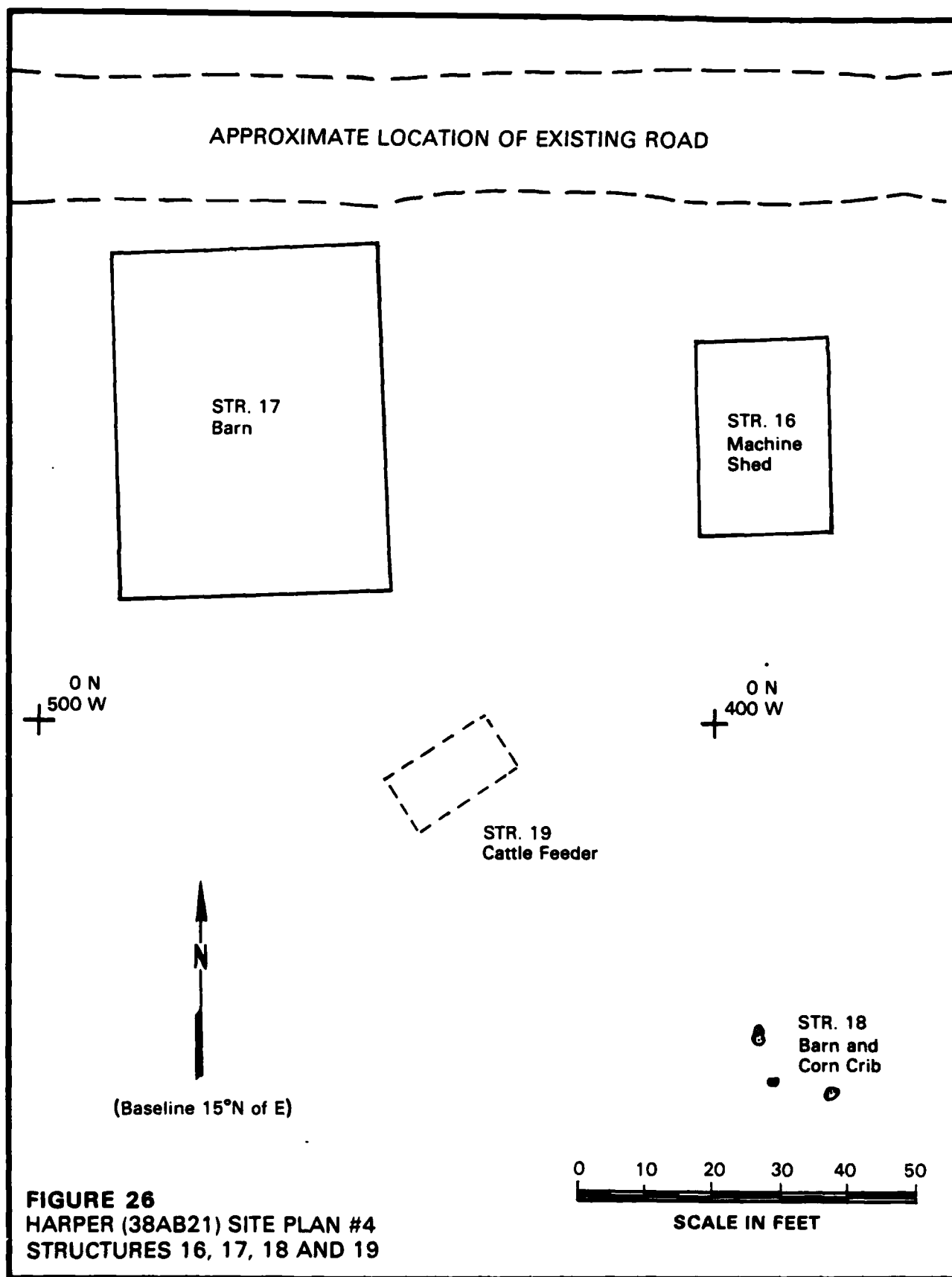
Structure 12, the garage, is located approximately 20 feet southeast of the 0 N, 0 E datum (Figure 18). This post-and-lintel building is sheathed with board and batten walls, and the roof is standing seam metal. Although the exact date of construction is unknown, it was probably built in the 1920s or 1930s. Directly south of the garage, about 30 feet, are the remains of a log pigpen (Figure 18). Now collapsed, the pigpen was covered with standing seam metal. Although not included on the map, the privy was apparently located southwest of the pigpen. According to Gaines Morrow, it had six holes, undoubtedly designed for a large family.

Structure 14 is the well house, located directly south of the main house (Figure 18). This frame structure has been extensively described by HABS. The banked building (Plate 7, lower left), which may have originally been built around 1850, had a milk room installed in 1929. Prior to that it served as the smokehouse for the complex. The open-sided well house on the north side of the structure may not have been built until the 1930s.

Structure 15, the dairy barn, is located approximately 120 feet southwest of the main house (Figure 18). This building, which has also been documented by HABS (n.d.), was apparently built in several stages. Initially it consisted of a 2-story log structure, probably built in the 1850s. It was remodelled into a banked barn with the addition of a cattle stable on the south side and a milking room on the east end in 1928. During the 1930s it was covered with salvaged tin siding. As a result, the barn is in very good condition.

Located approximately 350 feet west of the main house, on the south side of the lane leading to the ferry slip, is Structure 16, the machine shed (Figure 26). It was built in the 1930s by the Morrrows. Constructed with post-and-beam framing, it is covered with standing-seam metal. Structure 17, the cow and mule barn, is located about 100 feet directly west of the machine shed (Figure 26). The HABS survey team reports that it was probably built between 1845 and 1860, and according to oral tradition, the granaries at the rear of the barn were kept locked to keep the slaves from stealing the grain (HABS n.d.). The frame barn was also remodelled in the late 1920s, after the roof had been blown off. A metal roof of shallower pitch, and sheds on the north and south ends, were added.

A few stone foundation piers are all that remains of Structure 18, possibly the original barn. This structure was located directly west of the dairy barn (Structure 15) and south of the machine shed by approximately 80 feet (Figure 26). It was apparently a well-built, hewn log structure, which was disassembled and moved to Greenwood County in 1979 (HABS n.d.). It last functioned as a corn crib. It had two post-and-beam shed additions, one on either side. Apparently during the 1930s, it too was covered with sheetmetal siding. According to the initial HABS survey report, prepared in 1979, this barn may have been constructed as early as 1830.



Structure 19 is the location of an exterior cattle feeder that was probably built around 1900. It is located along the baseline for the site, at about grid point 0 N, 440 W (Figure 26). It had a gabled sheetmetal roof, and a V-shaped arrangement of posts to hold the cattle feed. Debris from the dismantlement of Structure 18 is scattered around the cattle feeder.

Structure 21, a small frame building, was constructed in the late 1930s to house a Delco generator used to provide electricity to the house and the well pump. It is located about 40 feet directly west of the well house (Figure 18). The generator apparently broke down in the mid-1940s, and rural electric power was subsequently introduced into the area in 1947 (HABS n.d.).

Structure 22 is a series of nesting boxes for chickens that was built onto a tree south of the generator shed and west of the well house. Further west is located an A-frame chicken coop (Structure 23) covered with a standing-seam metal roof (Figure 18). It, too, was built in the 1930s.

The large house garden for the Harper residential complex was located northeast of the garage (Structure 12), along the south side of the lane. It shows up very well on the 1959 aerial photograph, although the area has since been covered with pine plantation and has recently been logged.

The Harper family cemetery (38AB238) is located on the crest of a southwest-trending ridge spur, overlooking the Savannah River floodplain and approximately 650 feet northwest of the main house site (Figure 17). The walled cemetery contains the graves of at least 25 persons; there may be others. Appendix B gives the list of persons known to be buried in this cemetery.

As important as farming undoubtedly was to the Harper family, this discussion of the site would be incomplete without a mention of the family's other primary economic base, the ferry operation. As mentioned in Chapter IV, the Harper's Ferry was apparently in operation prior to 1836, and it continued almost uninterrupted until 1928, when competition from the State Route 72 bridge over the Savannah River became too great. Much has been written about this ferry operation, the remains of which are still quite apparent. The ferry slip is located about 750 feet west-southwest of the main house site, at the end of the dirt lane (Figure 17). The last flat to operate from the slip was intentionally sunk by Robert Morrow on its upstream side in 1928. The flat is still partially visible when the river is low. The cable and pulleys for the ferry were, of course, located on the upstream side of the slip, but have recently been removed by Corps of Engineers personnel.

UNVERIFIED STRUCTURE LOCATIONS

Several additional buildings were mentioned by local informants as having been located at the Harper site, but field surveys of the reported locations failed to produce positive evidence for the presence of

these structures. Gaines Morrow remembers that the remains of a building used to be located on the ridgetop south of the residential complex. He said these remains primarily consisted of a large pile of stones that was probably a chimney fall. A pedestrian survey of the area revealed that the ridge crest has been so heavily eroded that not even kudzu has been able to establish itself, even though it covers all of the surrounding slopes. Large piles of stone and wood have been shoved around the entire ridgetop by logging equipment, and it is not known from whence the stone originated. However, it does appear to be certain that a structure of some substance was, at one time, located on this ridge.

Bandon Hutchison recalls that there were two small log buildings east of the main house complex and on the south side of the lane. One of these was probably the remains identified as Structure 4. No evidence was found for the other. The entire south side of the ridge has been heavily disturbed by logging operations. Several buildings were also reported to have been located directly east of the blacksmith shop, but only one (Structure 5) was confirmed.

McCALLA I SITE (38AB78)

In order to understand the dynamics of land use and to be able to pinpoint structure locations on the vast McCalla plantation, it has been necessary to generally determine the boundaries of the plantation as they changed through time. As discussed in previous chapters, this task has been complicated by the sheer amount of land transfers that the McCalla family engaged in over the years. These transfers took place both between members of the family and with persons outside of the family. It also appears that several tracts of land exchanged hands more than once, thus creating a situation in which the McCalla family, in effect, bought, sold, and re-purchased the same tracts of land.

It is known with certainty, however, that John McCalla initially purchased 768 acres in 1833. The approximate boundaries of this tract are known and have been shown on Figure 27. This acreage will be considered the core of the McCalla I site. John McCalla probably continued to add acreage to his farm, although there are no records to confirm this assumption, and his son, George, most certainly increased the size of the plantation. By 1860 he owned 3,000 acres of land (U.S. Bureau of Census 1860). However, as a result of Reconstruction, George McCalla was unable to retain possession of all this land, and by the time of his death in 1886, his total acreage was listed at 2,158. This included an unknown amount of acreage (it may have been around 964 acres, if later tax records for John W. McCalla are correct) located directly south of the original plat and known as the Speer place. It probably also included some land north of the original tract.

In 1879, George McCalla's son, Isaac, married Raymond Speed and moved in with her parents. The Speed place was located northwest of the McCalla plantation on County Road 123 (see Figure 11). This has been considered the core of the McCalla II site (38AB67), and so will be








FIGURE 27

**TOPOGRAPHIC MAP OF THE McALLA I SITE (38AB78)
AND PORTIONS OF OTHER McALLA LANDS (BASED ON 1834
STATE PLAT)**

LEGEND

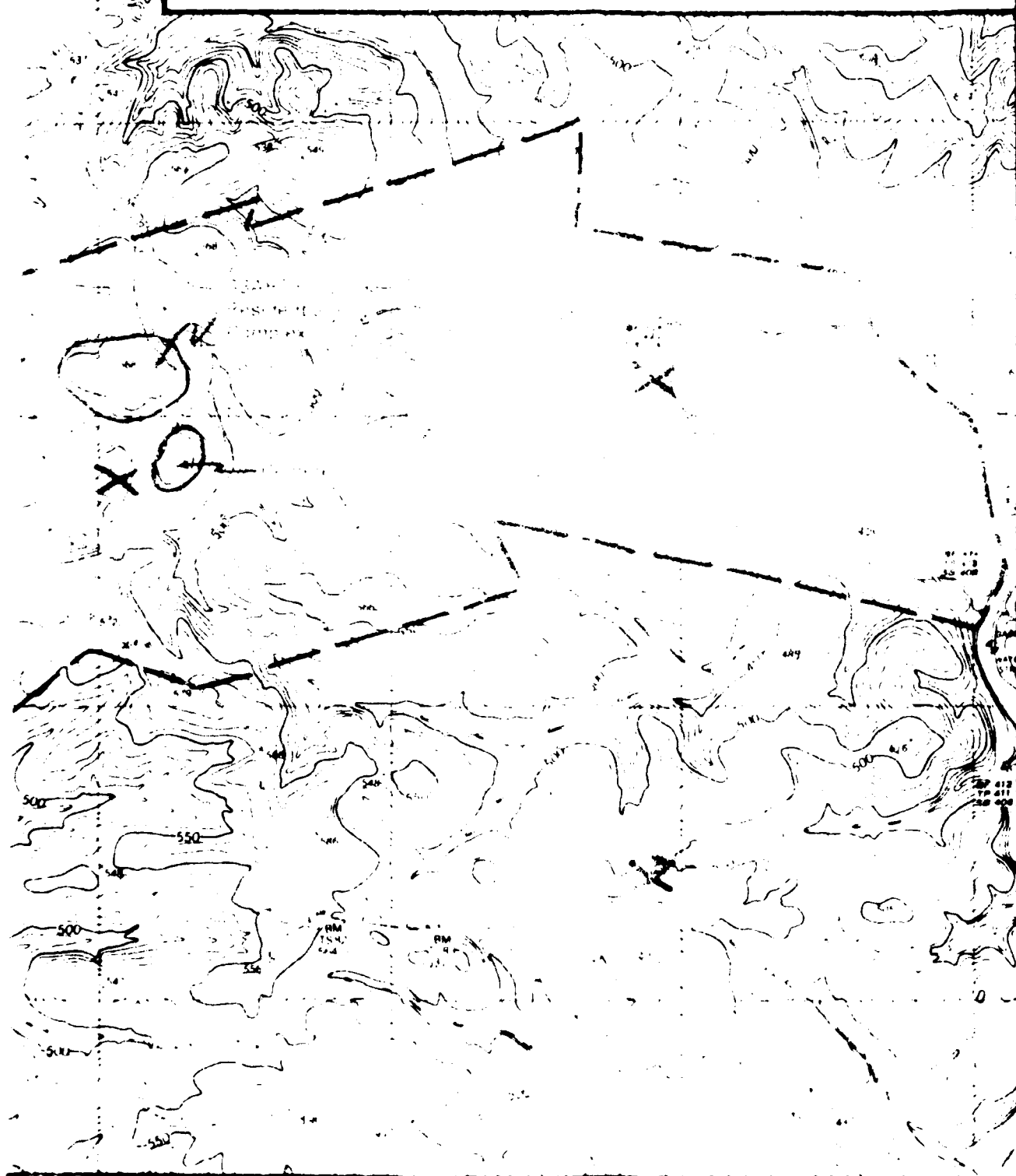
 McAlla I Group Site Boundary (Approximate)

 Other Structures (etc.)

 Report Location of Structures

0 1000 2000

SCALE IN FEET



③

discussed in greater detail in the next section of this chapter. It should be noted, however, that Isaac took over much of his father's acreage after George's death, as well as continually adding more land, so that the boundaries of the McCalla Island and the McCalla II land were, for all practical purposes, inextricably linked.

At the height of his land acquisition during the first decade of the twentieth century, Isaac McCalla owned 3,490 acres. However, not all of this land appears to have been situated in the project area. Still, when the settlement of Isaac's and Raymond's estates was made in 1916, the listing of separate parcels for their heirs shows that, between the two of them, they had owned at least 2,578 contiguous acres in the project area. In addition, Isaac's brother, John W., owned around 1,564 acres in Abbeville County, probably most of which was also located in the immediate vicinity.

When the land was finally sold completely out of the McCalla family in 1966, a total of about 2,367 acres was involved. Although less than what had previously been owned by the family, this was still a hefty chunk of land. It appears to have extended as far north as the Hutchinson farm, west to the Savannah River, south to at least Cherokee Shoals, and east to the unnumbered north-south road that lies nearest to the Rocky River. It included the original McCalla plat, portions of which were listed at various times as belonging to Mary Jane McCalla, Georgia McCalla Gaines, Isaac H. McCalla, John W. McCalla, Raymond E. McCalla, and M.P. McCalla. It appears, too, that the extreme eastern section of the original tract, bordering the Rocky River, was probably sold out of the family sometime prior to the turn of the century.

In conducting the field survey of both the McCalla I site and the McCalla II site, emphasis was first placed upon doing a thorough field search of the immediate areas surrounding the residential complexes. Then, time permitting, field checks were made of structure locations that had been identified through archival research or by local informants. This resulted in the verification of a few additional locations for structures and activity areas, although a large number of structure locations probably still remain unknown.

Especially critical is the fact that the locations of most of the slave quarters associated with the McCalla I site, of which there were at least 23 (U.S. Bureau of Census 1860), have not been positively identified. The reason for this is simple. When one examines the extent of the plantation prior to the Civil War (roughly some 3,000 acres), it becomes immediately apparent that the greatest efficiency would have been achieved if slaves were housed near their work locations, rather than in a concentration around the main house complex. Indeed, this form of dispersed settlement pattern has been documented for other sites in the project area (Orser 1981). Thus, the actual locations of many of these habitations would not have been found using the intensive survey techniques that were most practical for this project. It is possible, however, that some of the other historic sites located during initial surveys within the boundaries of land formerly owned by the McCalla family may indeed be the remains of some of these slave quarters. It is also

possible, moreover, that these sites, of which there are at least 17 according to site maps for the area, were originally the homes of persons whose land was purchased by the McCallas or were tenant houses dating to after the Civil War. Finally, the possibility exists that some of the sites could have been used for more than one of these purposes. For instance, a house could have initially been occupied by a land-owning family, later purchased by George McCalla and converted into slave housing, then after Reconstruction converted into tenant housing.

The question concerning the functions of many of these historic sites is, at this time, unanswerable. The scope of the current project was such that, despite a stated emphasis on collecting information about intra-site settlement patterns on southern farms and plantations, the greatest amount of data collection, especially in terms of fieldwork, had to be centered around the main house complexes and other activity areas of known function. Nevertheless, a great deal of information has been collected about the McCalla plantation, and although not all of the structure locations on the plantation have been identified, enough have been located to provide an analysis of the land use and settlement patterns that were taking place on the plantation.

The primary residential complex associated with the McCalla I site is located almost exactly six miles due south of Lowndesville and 1.5 miles east of McCalla Island. It is situated approximately 200 to 300 feet west of an unnumbered dirt road that runs from north to south, halfway between the Savannah River and the Rocky River (Figure 27).

The residential complex sits on a relatively level ridgetop, surrounded on all sides by steep slopes. In fact, most of the topography included within the original McCalla landholding consists of narrow ridges dissected by intermittent and second-order streams. The soils in this severely rolling tract of land are primarily Pacolet and Wilkes, both of which are subject to very severe erosion. Evidence of such erosion is present throughout the site. John McCalla's original tract, however, also included around 250 acres of bottomlands, terraces, and broad ridges, primarily along the Savannah River and Allen Creek (this is a different Allen Creek than the one on the Harper plantation). Although possibly subject to some flooding, this land has probably been intensively farmed from as early as the 1830s. The primary soils in these lower areas are included in the Chewacla, Enon, and Iredell series.

Evidence of terracing is present in several portions of the McCalla I site, especially in the less rolling areas along the river. However, on the whole it appears that most of the original McCalla plantation was abandoned for farming purposes after erosion had destroyed most of the land's agricultural potential.

Even before the McCalla family sold their land to a paper company in 1966, they apparently had allowed much of their acreage to revert back to forest lands and scrub, either in an attempt to control erosion or because the erosion had rendered the land unsuitable for any other purpose. A 1959 aerial photograph of the McCalla II site shows a por-

tion of the original McCalla tract as well. From all appearances, it seems to have been densely forested at that time with mixed hardwoods and pines. The contemporary landscape is also one of primarily forest vegetation. Some areas of the site appear to have been logged in the last 10 to 15 years, while others support stands of timber that are 30 to 40 years old. A pine growing in the center of the main house remains at McCalla I is at least 30 years old.

The survey of the McCalla I residential complex was initiated by setting up a control grid over the main portion of the site. Structures and features directly associated with the main house were mapped in relationship to the grid. Outlying structures and features were mapped in relationship to datum points shot in by transit angle and distance from the 0 N, 0 E datum. Each identified structure and feature was assigned a number. A determination of function was possible for some, but not all, of the identified structures. Figure 28 shows the relationships of the structures and features within the McCalla I residential complex. Figures 29 and 30, however, reveal in more detail the actual distributions of the structural remains.

To aid in the determination of function and age of the identified structures, a program of shovel testing was implemented at the McCalla I site. Various numbers of tests, most measuring 2' x 2', were placed in and around each structure. Information collected from the tests included soil composition, evidence of disturbance, and representative artifacts. The locations of the shovel tests are shown on Figures 29 and 30.

Surface collections were also conducted at the main house and at all of the identified structures within the complex, but the collections were not made in an extremely controlled manner. All collections were bagged in relationship to the nearest concentration of structural remains. Therefore, the results of the surface collection will be discussed in conjunction with the structural descriptions.

STRUCTURAL REMAINS AND FEATURES OF THE RESIDENTIAL COMPLEX

Structure 1 is the remains of the main house at the McCalla I site. The house location was identified by a local informant, who said that the house collapsed shortly after it was abandoned in the 1930s (R. Nelson, personal communication 1981). This would have made the house almost exactly 100 years old, since it appears to have been built by John McCalla in the early 1830s. Another informant remembers the house as having been standing as late as the early 1960s (T.H. Waters, personal communication 1983). Considering the size of the tree growing in the middle of the site, however, it seems doubtful that the house was standing after the 1940s, and may have collapsed earlier. There is also evidence to indicate however, that the house may have burned after its abandonment. This possibility will be discussed further in Chapter VI.

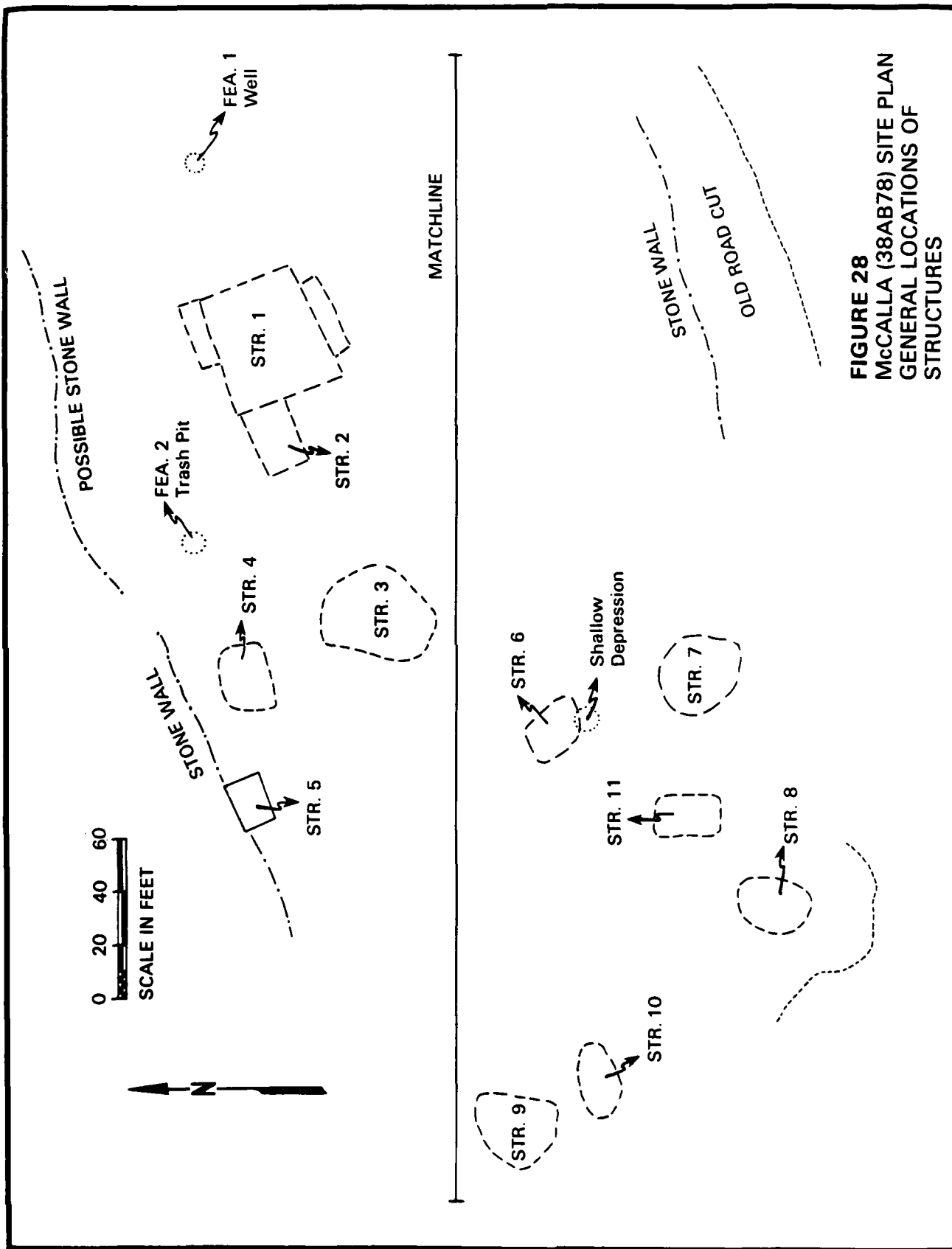


FIGURE 28
McCALLA (38AB78) SITE PLAN
GENERAL LOCATIONS OF
STRUCTURES

FIGURE 29
McCALLA SITE PLAN (38AB78)
DETAIL OF NORTH HALF OF SITE



AN (38AB78)
HALF OF SITE



POSSIBLE STONE WALL

FEA 2
Trash Pit

FEA 1
Well

N
15 W

STR 2

STR 1

N
50 E

LEGEND

■ ■ ■ Shovel Cuts

0 10 20 30 40 50

SCALE IN FEET

MATCHLINE

③

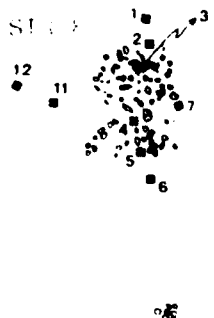
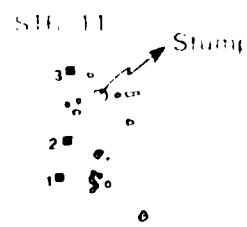
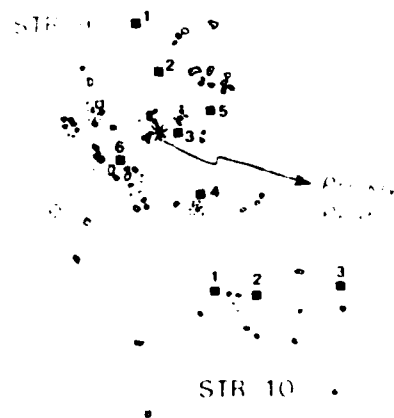
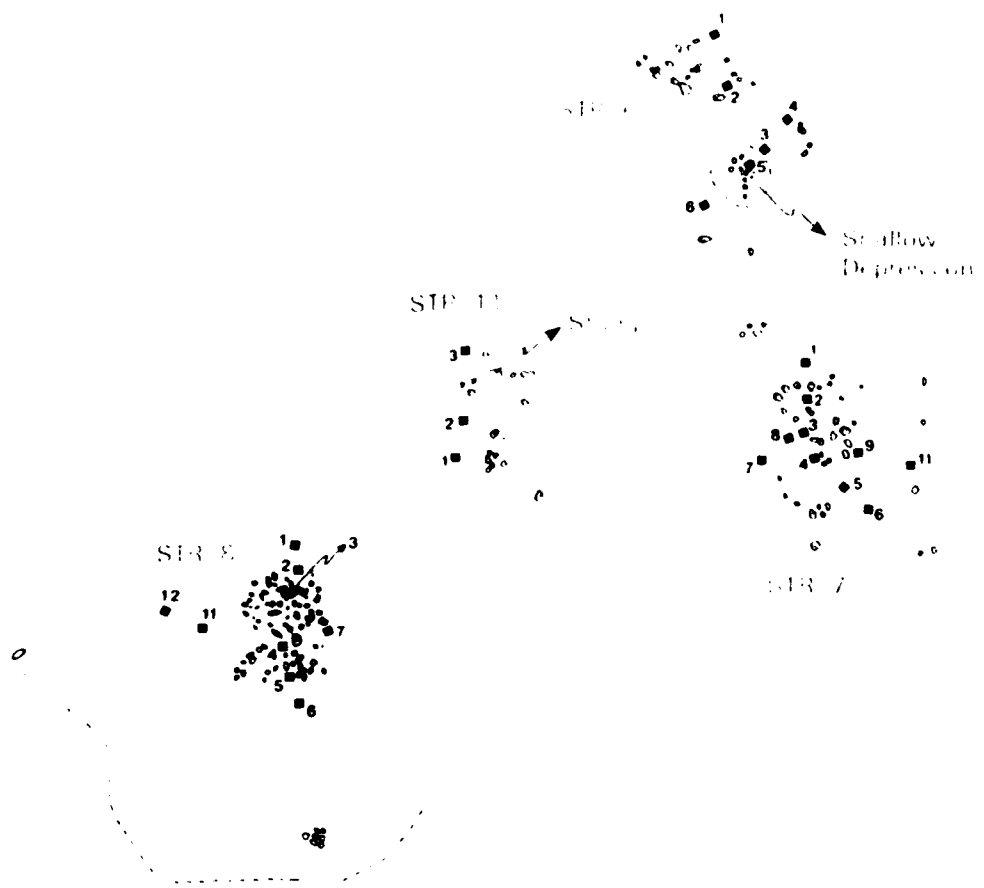


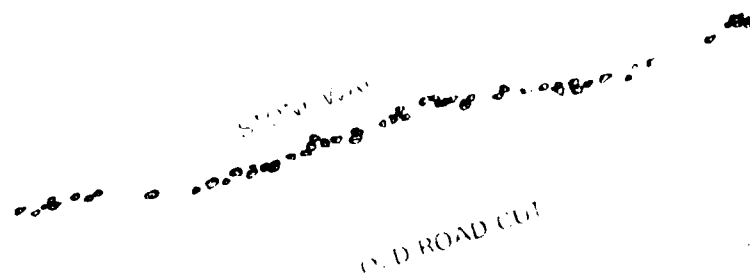
FIGURE 30
McCALLA SITE PLAN (38AB78)
DETAIL OF SOUTH HALF OF SITE

C



ITE

MATCHLINE



LEGEND

... Shovel Cuts

0 10 20 30 40 50



SCALE IN FEET



The house site, as well as the rest of the buildings that comprised the residential complex, occupies a broad, relatively level ridgetop. It is surrounded on all sides by a sharp drop in terrain. A first order stream to the north (behind the house) forms a fairly deep ravine as it drains onto the "McCalla Bottoms." The house itself was located facing southeast towards the old road, the remains of which can still be recognized in the woods. Very few ornamentals were recorded for the McCalla I site, although a bed of irises is located directly north of the main house remains. An apparently unsheltered well was located about 45 feet northeast of the house. This appears to have been an unusual location for the well, since the kitchen was probably located on the opposite side of the house. The house itself, and the trench excavations that were undertaken within its boundaries, are discussed in greater detail in Chapter VII.

Structure 2 is the remains of a presumed kitchen that was located adjacent to the main house on its west side (Figures 28 and 29). It is difficult to determine whether the kitchen was attached to the house or not. No intact piers were found that could provide some indication of the orientation of the building or its proximity to the main house. However, the probable chimney fall associated with the kitchen is situated only about 18 feet from the west wall of the house. Thus, no matter whether the long axis of the kitchen was oriented perpendicular to the house or parallel to the house, very little space would have been available for a walkway between the two buildings.

Five shovel tests were excavated in and near the probable location of Structure 2 (Figure 29). All of the shovel tests revealed several levels of deposition inside and near the structure. Some of the layers were comprised of mixed clay and mortar, and extended as deep as 1.4 feet below surface. All of the tests contained subsistence-related artifacts, especially ceramics and bottle glass, thereby supporting the interpretation that this structure was indeed a kitchen. In addition, a piece of lead water pipe was found in Shovel Cut 5. Architecturally related material was also recovered from all of the shovel tests. Most of the artifactual material that was collected is non-diagnostic in terms of dating the structure. Much of the material dates anywhere from the Civil War to the first quarter of the twentieth century. However, a wrought nail was found in Shovel Cut 3 and another in Shovel Cut 4, intimating that the construction of Structure 2 was probably contemporaneous with the main house and that both appear to date to the early decades of the nineteenth century. Also recovered from Shovel Cut 4 were several pearlware sherds dating from the first half of the nineteenth century (Plate 8, upper left).

Located approximately 58 feet southwest of the 0 N, 0 E datum, Structure 3 appears to have been a roughly rectangular building, around 35 feet long by 25 feet wide, with its long axis lying in a northwest-to-southeast orientation (Figures 28 and 29). The wall foundations or pier rubble (the building has been subject to some disturbance) are predominantly of stone. After mapping the surface remains of the building, six shovel cuts were placed along the long axis of the structure, at seven-foot intervals. Each shovel test measured approximately two

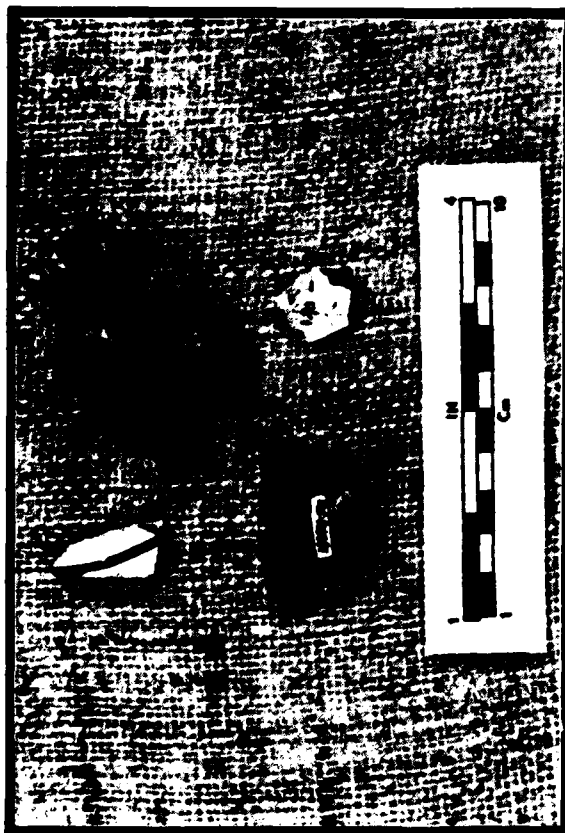


PLATE 8.

Upper Left: McCalla I Site (38AB78), Structure 2 (Kitchen), Representative Artifacts: Ceramics and Lead Water Pipe Fragment.

Upper Right: McCalla I Site (38AB78), Remains of Structure 5, Possible Tenant House.

Lower Left: McCalla I Site (38AB78), Structure 8 (Blacksmith Shop), Shovel Cut 3.

feet square, and was trowel sorted to recover artifacts. The artifactual collection consists primarily of cut nails, brick fragments, two pieces of container glass, and several ceramic fragments, primarily alkaline-glazed stoneware and one piece of coarse red earthenware. All of this material was collected from Level 1 in each test. Level 1, a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) sandy loam, ranged in depth from .3 to .45 foot, and lay directly on top of subsoil, a mottled light yellowish brown (10YR6/4) sandy clay. Based on the artifactual material, this structure probably was a dwelling, maybe even slave quarters for the main house. The artifacts appear to date to the mid-nineteenth century, and are generally utilitarian in nature. In addition, a possible hearth base was discovered in Shovel Cut 3, thus adding to the probability that this was a habitation associated with activities at the main house.

The remains labelled as Structure 4 were found about 78 feet west-northwest of the site datum and 40 feet north of the northern boundary of Structure 3 (Figures 28 and 29). These remains, which consist of a small scatter of stone and brick rubble in no recognizable alignment, were only tentatively identified as a possible structure. Five shovel cuts (not mapped) were placed in the area of Structure 4. Artifacts recovered from the tests were primarily cut nails, with some ceramics (three pieces of alkaline-glazed stoneware and ironstone), one piece of clear container glass, one piece of light green window glass, a fragment of concrete, and miscellaneous metal. It would appear that this building, if indeed the remains are those of a structure, was built during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. The presence of nails in the shovel tests supports the assumption that this was indeed a building, but the possibility exists that the material could have been moved to this location from elsewhere during logging operations. While the occurrence of ceramics and bottle glass in the shovel tests would suggest that the function of this purported structure was domestic, it is also possible that this material derived from somewhere else, perhaps the trash pit (Feature 2) located about 45 feet northeast of the remains. In summary, it is believed that caution should be used in the interpretation of these remains, although if indeed this was a building, it probably had a domestic function.

Structure 5 is probably a servants' dwelling or small tenant house associated with the postbellum occupation of the main house. The remains of this building are located approximately 125 feet due west of the 0 N, 0 E datum. The building dimensions of 15 feet by 18 feet are defined by a laid brick foundation (Plate 8, upper right); an apparent chimney fall is located in the northwest corner of the building. Nine shovel tests, each measuring about two feet square, were excavated in and near the structure remains. The shovel cuts revealed a deposit of dark brown (7.5YR3/4) silty sand (Level 1) overlying subsoil. A number of artifacts were found in Level 1 that overall appear to date this structure to the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Primary among these are a quantity of cut and drawn-wire nails, as well as ceramics (alkaline-glazed stoneware, ironstone, and some porcelain), numerous container glass fragments in various colors (olive green, light aqua, light green, and brown), and clear window glass. Also recovered from the shovel tests were several bones. Without a doubt the function

of this structure was domestic, and considering its size and location it probably functioned as servants' quarters during Mary McCalla's later occupation of the site. The presence of porcelain (several fragments of what appears to be a molded bowl) is unexplainable in this context, although the porcelain itself is not of particularly high value and so may have been given to or purchased by the house occupants.

An interesting aspect of Structure 5 is that its northern wall appears to have been part of a stone and brick wall that followed the upper boundary of the ridgetop, and may have defined the northern limit of the residential complex. Portions of this wall were found intact in several locations along the ridgetop, and the alignment of the missing portions was hypothesized on the basis of the intact remains (Figure 29).

Located approximately 140 feet southwest of the site datum are the remains of Structure 6 (Figures 28 and 30). These remains have been identified as a possible structure, roughly rectangular in shape and measuring about 15 feet by 20 feet. A circular depression of unknown origin was found in the southwestern corner of the structure. The excavation of six shovel tests revealed the same type of soil composition as has been already described for other parts of the site. Included within Level 1 were artifacts of both domestic and architectural function. The domestic artifacts include ceramics (coarse earthenware, stoneware, and plain ironstone) and canning jar glass (clear and light aqua). Architecturally related artifacts were primarily cut nails, with brick fragments and one drawn nail. Overall, the building again appears to have had a domestic function, and probably was used during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The remains of Structure 7 were found about 40 feet directly south of Structure 6 (Figures 28 and 30). These remains consist of a possible brick foundation with a scattered stone concentration located inside the perimeter of bricks. The stone concentration may represent the remains of a hearth. This interpretation is reinforced by the presence of a burned area in the center of the structure. Since the burning appears to have been confined to only this one area, it probably is not attributable to the destruction of the building by fire. Ten shovel tests were excavated within the perimeter of the structural remains. Artifacts recovered from the shovel cuts and on the surface included ceramics (stoneware, ironstone, and porcelain), bottle glass (clear aqua and brown), a number of cut nails and one questionable wrought nail, a pintle, and one piece of window glass. An iron hoe blade was found on the surface. Again, it appears that this building had a domestic function, although the possibility always exists that some of the cultural material recovered could have been deposited after abandonment or destruction of the building. The artifactual material, with the exception of the possible wrought nail, appears to date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Initially it was hypothesized that this building served as the smokehouse for the complex; hence the presence of the burned area. However, the somewhat heavy occurrence of domestic artifacts tends to belie this interpretation. Thus, the function of Structure 7 remains unknown.

Structure 8 is located on the extreme southwestern edge of the ridgetop, approximately 90 feet southwest of Structure 7 (Figures 28 and 30). Beyond the remains of the structure the landscape has been very heavily eroded as a result of over-cultivation on the steep slopes. The structural remains consist of a scatter of brick and stone rubble with a slight rise on the southern end. After mapping the surface remains, nine shovel tests were excavated. Most of these revealed a layer of dark brown (7.5YR3/4) silty sand, ranging in depth from .05 to .3 foot (Level 1); a second level, ranging in depth from .3 to .7 foot, of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sandy loam; and subsoil. Level 2 was mixed with ash and charcoal flecks. Shovel Cut 3, at the northern edge of the rise, was filled with stones (Plate 8, lower left). Artifacts recovered during the test excavations at Structure 8 consist primarily of nails (cut and drawn), although a number of small pieces of metal, some coal clinker, and slag were also found. Quite a bit of slag was found along the eroded slope to the west and south of the structure. Two pieces of ceramic, one annular yellowware and one ironstone, were probably inadvertently dropped in the area. From all indications, this was probably the site of the blacksmith shop for the complex. The rise, which apparently consists primarily of stone, was undoubtedly the base of the forge. The interpretation that this was the blacksmith shop is reinforced by the majority of the artifacts recovered and by the presence of ash and charcoal in Level 2. The building probably dated to the mid- to late nineteenth century.

Structures 9 and 10 are located about 125 feet northwest of Structure 8 and around 280 feet southwest of the site datum (Figures 28 and 30). The scatters of the two designated structures run together and may actually represent the remains of one building.

Structure 9 consists of a scatter of bricks on a slight rise. A prickly pear was found in about the center of the structural remains. As prickly pear was a commonly-grown ornamental during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the possibility exists that the bricks were deposited in this location from elsewhere. It is also possible, however, that the prickly pear was introduced into this location after the destruction of the building. After mapping the surface features, six shovel tests were excavated. The shovel cuts were made up of a compact dark yellowish brown (10YR3/6) clay and silty loam, .5 to 1.0 foot deep, on top of subsoil. In some places, the soils comprising Level 1 were mixed with the subsoil. Artifacts recovered from the tests were primarily cut nails, although three pieces of ironstone (one burnt) and one piece of deep yellow creamware were also collected. The presence of the creamware is certainly an oddity when compared to the other material from the site because of its temporal implications. In all probability, however, its presence is probably the result of being handed down through time.

Structure 10 is also primarily composed of brick fragments scattered over a wide area. Three shovel tests excavated across the scatter revealed the same type of soil deposition as in Structure 9. Recovered artifacts include cut nails and one piece of coarse earthenware or poorly fired stoneware. The possibility exists that both Structures 9 and 10 were slave quarters associated with the main house complex. However, it is also possible that these remains did not have a domestic function, and that the ceramics are unassociated with the remains.

The final structure that was located in the McCalla I residential complex was found approximately halfway between Structures 6 and 8 (Figures 28 and 30). These remains, labelled Structure 11, consist of a small scatter of bricks and stone rubble near a large stump of a tree. The remains appear to have been deposited in a rectangular shape, the long axis of which runs from north to south. Three shovel tests were excavated, all of which revealed a thin layer of dark brown (7.5YR3/4) humus on top of subsoil. A piece of earthenware, an enamelled tin coffee pot, and a .22 caliber rifle shell were all found on the surface of the ground in the general vicinity of the structural remains. It is doubtful, however, that any of these artifacts were associated with the building. Artifacts recovered from the shovel tests were two large metal objects that appear to have been parts of some agricultural equipment. It appears that this may have been a storage shed of some sort, although the scatter is too thin to make any definitive statements about function. Also, the absence of any soil development between the leaf mold and subsoil may be an indication of heavy erosion and/or clearing in the area. Thus, the origins of the structural remains appear sketchy at best.

OTHER STRUCTURE AND FEATURE LOCATIONS

Apparently associated with the residential complex at the McCalla I site, but unidentified during the field survey, was a barn and its associated lot. Located east of the main house approximately 150 feet, between the main house and the existing road, this barn was seemingly utilized until abandonment of the site (R. Nelson, personal communication 1981). A dense understory in the vicinity of the barn site defeated all attempts at locating the remains of the structure.

The structural remains that were initially labelled 38AB78 by the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, and originally identified as the McCalla plantation house, have actually been identified as the remains of a tenant house associated with the postbellum occupation of the site (R. Nelson, personal communication 1981). The house is located south of the main house complex about 750 feet, and immediately on the west side of the existing road. Remains of the house include at least one chimney fall, some stone piers, and several floorboards. There may also be additional structures associated with this tenant house. No shovel tests or surface collections were conducted in the vicinity of this building, so its dates of occupation remain unknown. However, it was occupied at least through the first quarter of the twentieth century, according to Randolph Nelson.

At least two other reported house locations are included within the boundaries of the original McCalla site, but neither of these were field-checked. It is unknown whether or not these sites were associated with the antebellum workings of the plantation. If they were, they may have been slave quarters or overseers' houses. However, they were still standing as late as 1938, because their locations were marked on the Abbeville County road map for that year. In addition to the known house

sites included within the McCalla I site complex, several historic sites identified by the Institute during its 1978 survey (Taylor and Smith 1978) also are located within the McCalla I site boundaries. These include Sites 38AB77 (19) and 38AB20, both located along County Road 65 (west of the main house complex), and Site 38AB232, situated on a ridge-top southwest of the slave cemetery (38AB235) and east of County Road 65.

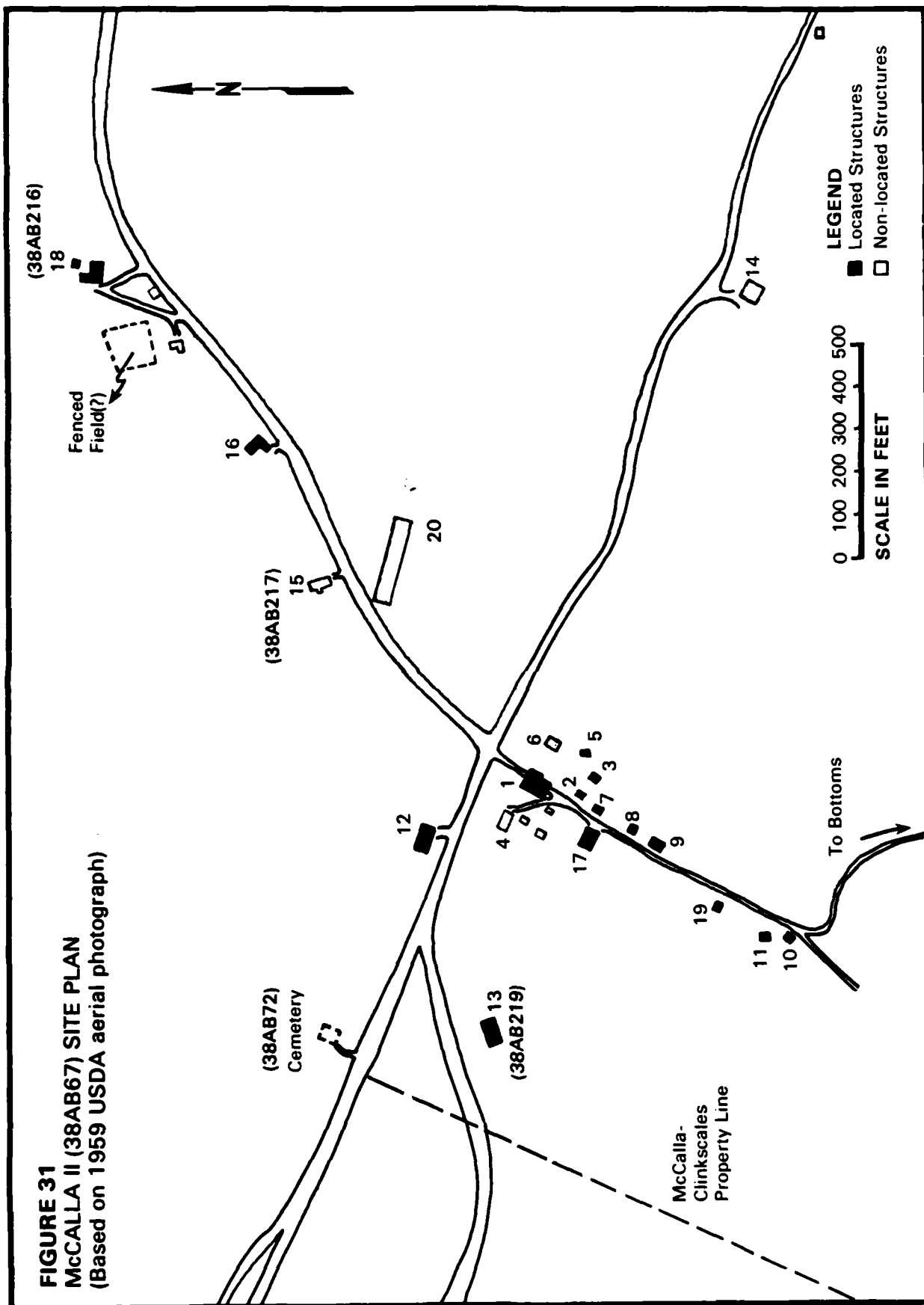
The aforementioned slave cemetery was located during the Institute survey, and was not resurveyed during the present project. Finally, the old McCalla cemetery, not to be confused with what has been called the "old McCalla cemetery" on the topographic maps, is located on the east side of the existing road that bounds the McCalla I residential complex, and slightly northeast of the 38AB78 tenant house remains. This cemetery, which is bounded by highly eroded slopes, is the resting place of John McCalla (died 1838), Susan Tennant McCalla (died 1840), and George R. McCalla (1821-1886). The graves of all three are marked by a single white marble monument.

McCALLA II SITE (38AB67)

The last site to be surveyed during this project, the McCalla II site was probably afforded the least thorough treatment, considering its complexity, of all of the sites under investigation. The importance of conducting a survey of this site, in the first place, was not determined until late in the fieldwork phase of the project. Consistently, attempts to gather information about the McCalla I site from local informants were complicated by information volunteered about the McCalla II site. Finally, it was realized that in the minds of the local inhabitants, and therefore grounded in the reality of the area, the two sites are for all practical purposes inseparable. The activities that originated from the McCalla II site during the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries intimately involved the McCalla I site as well. Therefore, it was decided that at least a survey directed towards the identification of structure locations and functions would be conducted at the McCalla II site.

Because of temporal limitations, however, a control grid was not set up over the McCalla II site. Rather, a base map was drawn over the 1959 SCS aerial photograph that shows many of the structures when they were still standing. This base map was then used to guide the informant interviews and the field survey of the site (Figure 31). All structure locations, as shown on the aerial or added from local informant interviews, were field-checked for possible archaeological remains. In addition, limited survey was also conducted in other parts of the site to determine if there were any archaeological remains of structures not shown on the aerial or mentioned by informants. No shovel tests or surface collections were conducted at the McCalla II site, nor were individual maps drawn. However, photographs were taken of many of the archaeological remains, and these, combined with the base map and the written descriptions of the structures from field observations and informant interviews, were deemed sufficient to allow valid interpretations to be made of the settlement and land use patterns at the site.

FIGURE 31
McCALLA II (38AB67) SITE PLAN
 (Based on 1959 USDA aerial photograph)



The McCalla II residential complex is located on Abbeville County Road 123, about 3,000 feet west of the Clinkscales house complex (see Figure 11). The McCalla complex is primarily situated on the south side of the road, towards the Savannah River, although structures reported to be a part of the large McCalla II site are scattered throughout the area (Figures 11 and 27).

The residential complex itself is located on a broad ridgetop bounded to the east and west by first order streams. Unlike the other sites under investigation during this project, the McCalla II lands, on the whole, consist of relatively broad ridges with gentle slopes. The soils on these ridges are primarily of the Iredell, Mecklenburg, and Enon series. These are considered to be very good agricultural soils, especially the Iredell series (see Chapter III). The soils of the large floodplain areas of the site are Buncombe sand and Chewacla loam. The presence of terracing is everywhere on the McCalla II site, and large areas of the site are still under cultivation by tenant farmers. However, reforestation efforts have resulted in the concealment of portions of the site under a canopy of mixed hardwoods and pines, especially in the more steeply sloped areas.

STRUCTURE AND FEATURE DESCRIPTIONS AND LOCATIONS

Structure 1, the main house, is located on the north end of the residential complex, facing the county road (Figure 31). According to archival and oral historical information, the original 2-story frame house on this site was built at least as early as 1878, if not earlier. This house burned in 1942, and a second 1-story, frame house was rebuilt on a concrete pad foundation in the same location. After the death of Parniece McCalla in 1972, the house was moved to a location on the north side of County Road 81 just west of its junction with County Road 65, and the foundation was bulldozed.

Structure 2, located directly south of the main house, was identified as a communal kitchen for the farm hands by Randolph Nelson (personal communication 1981). Remains of this structure, which measured about 13' x 18', are still present at the site. A large wooden salt trough was found along the southern wall of the building, resting on the sill (Plate 9, upper left). The trough measures approximately 10 feet long and 2 feet across. It was originally set on stones, as were the sills. The presence of the trough, in addition to the small size of the building, indicates that the building probably served as a smokehouse, rather than a kitchen.

Structure 3 is the remains of the collapsed well house, located southeast of the smokehouse (Figure 31). This frame building was constructed of circular-sawn planks and wire nails; it was roofed with standing-seam metal. Its approximate dimensions were 10' x 12'.

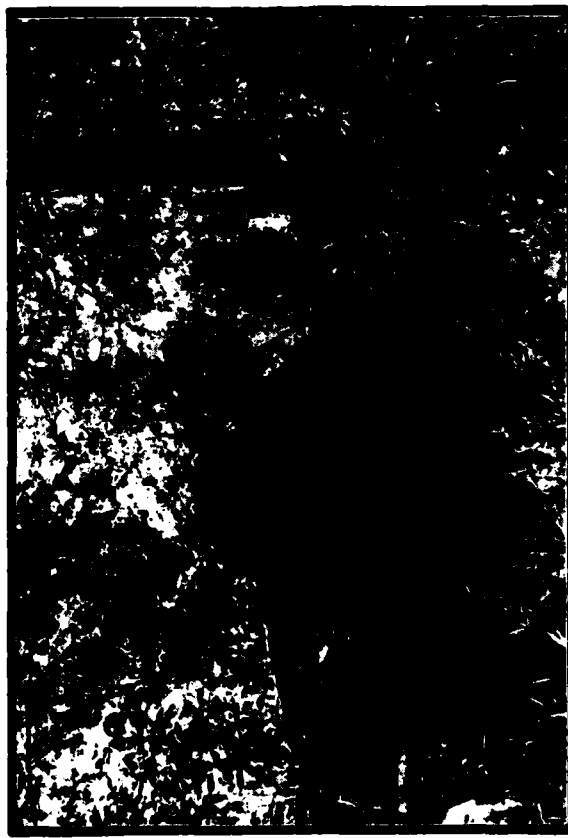


PLATE 9.

Upper Left: McCalla II Site (38AB67), Remains of Structure 2 (Probable Smokehouse) and Log Salt Trough.

Upper Right: McCalla II Site (38AB67), Structure 5, Coon House (Possibly a Former Gazebo).

Lower Left: McCalla II Site (38AB67), Remains of Structure 9, Dairy Barn.

The location of what has been designated as Structure 4 is slightly northwest of the main house, on the west side of the private dirt road leading to the Savannah River bottoms (Figure 31). This is reported by several informants to have been the location of the "plantation commissary," where goods and supplies were available to the plantation workers. No surface remains were noted.

Structure 5 is the still-standing coon house, southeast of the main house (Figure 31). This was apparently built by John McCalla to house raccoons (R. Nelson, personal communication 1981). Its appearance, however, gives rise to the possibility that this structure may also have been used as a formal gazebo before being used as a coon house. The structure is small, 9' x 9', with frame construction on wooden piers, and a wooden shake roof. The floor is screen, and two doors are present, one in the south side and one in the east side (Plate 9, upper right).

In the aerial photograph, a large structure that appears to have been used as a barn or a garage was located slightly southeast of the main house and north of the coon house (Figure 31). This area has been heavily disturbed, and no surface remains were noted. A windmill, reported by Randolph Nelson (personal communication 1981) to have been in this general area, was also not located.

Structure 7, located behind the smokehouse (Figure 31), is a collapsed chicken coop that measures 10' x 23'. It was built of frame and wire mesh, with wire nails. Behind Structure 7 is Structure 8, also reported by one informant to have been a chicken coop (Figure 31). However, another informant stated that this was a corn crib. The foundations of this building, the function of which is still undetermined, measure approximately 12' x 13'.

Behind Structure 8 is the collapsed remains of Structure 9, which has been identified as the dairy barn (R. Nelson, personal communication 1981). Built of heavy timbers and planks on log sills, this building measured 14' x 32' (Plate 9, lower left). An interior wall divided the barn into two sections, one 11 feet long and the other 21 feet long.

Structure 10 was identified as a small log shed on stone piers that measures about 20 feet square (Plate 10, upper left). It is located at the split in the private road where it enters the river bottoms (Figure 31). Randolph Nelson (personal communication 1981) reported that this was the tool shed.

Of primary economic importance to the McCalla plantation was their cotton gin. This equipment processed the cotton not only for the McCalla family, but also for many of their neighbors. The remains of the gin house (Structure 11) were located north of Structure 10, on the west side of the dirt lane (Figure 31). No dates of construction and abandonment are available for the building, however. The in situ foundations of the gin itself are brick on stone foundations (Plate 10, upper right). These foundations measure about 8' x 18'. The gin house



PLATE 10.

Upper Left: McCalla II Site (38AB67), Remains of Structure 10, Tool Shed.

Upper Right: McCalla II Site (38AB67), Structure 11, Brick Foundation for Cotton Gin.

Lower Left: McCalla II Site (38AB67), Structure 11, Metal Tank Used to Store Cottonseed.



was apparently built on stone piers, and may have measured as much as 41' x 63'. A large metal tank, 9 feet in diameter and 12 feet long, was said to have been used for cottonseed storage before its conversion to meal (Plate 10, lower left). Other remains of the gin operation were a massive foundation of creosote-treated wood that may have been used to anchor equipment outside, a well, and a large wooden pump base.

Across the county road from the residential complex was found the remains of a collapsed frame building (Structure 12) (Figure 31). Its approximate dimensions were 20' x 40', and it was reported to have housed plantation workers and their families (R. Nelson, personal communication 1981). Structure 13, which was called 38AB219 by the Institute (Taylor and Smith 1978), was located west of the main house complex, on the south side of the road (Figure 31). This, too, is believed to have been used as housing for plantation workers. The remains consist of a log sill on stone piers, with frame timbers, a chimney fall in the center of the structure, and numerous bed springs. The house measured about 15' x 42'. Structures 16 and 18 (38AB216) were also identified as the homes of the plantation workers (Figure 31). Limited sheet metal was all that was found at Structure 16, but the remains at Structure 18 include log sills on stone piers that measure 20' x 28', with an ell that measures 32 feet long.

Structure 14 (Figure 31) may have been the plantation foreman's house during the postbellum occupation of the site, according to Randolph Nelson (personal communication 1981). However, the site is now in pine plantation, and no surface remains were found. Structure 15, also for which there is now no surface evidence, was described as the house occupied by the McCallas' cook and chauffeur (ibid). This structure was identified as Site 38AB217 during the Institute survey (Taylor and Smith 1978).

Structure 17 is located southwest of the main house, on the west side of the dirt lane (Figure 31). This was identified by Randolph Nelson as the mule barn. The remains consist of log sills on stone piers that measure 20.5' x 61'. Several interior piers are also present, indicating that the structure probably had interior walls.

Structure 19 is a brick-lined depression, 10' x 12', located on the west side of the lane between the mule barn and the cotton gin (Figure 31). One informant said that this was used to hold a water tank, although the reliability of this informant has been brought under question. Nevertheless, the dimensions are approximately the same as the large steel tank located near the gin, and it may be that the tank was originally located in this pit. Structure 20 is a large broiler house that was identified on the 1959 SCS aerial photograph as being located across the county road from Structure 15 (Figure 31). Its location was not verified in the field.

Several structures and features were mentioned by the informants but their locations were not determined. These included a hog lot, somewhere near Structures 8 and 9; a crib, located south of Structure 17; a tractor shed, situated between Structures 4 and 17; and still another house for plantation workers, located between Structures 4 and

13. Finally, a cemetery (38AB72) is located northwest of the residential complex, on the north side of County Road 123 (Figure 31). This is the cemetery described by Isaac McCalla in his will (see Chapter IV). It is walled with brick, and includes the graves of at least 14 persons. In addition, one person is buried outside the cemetery walls. The names of the persons known to be interred in this cemetery are included in Appendix B.

LAND USE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AT THE FIVE HISTORIC SITES

One of the stated objectives of this project was to investigate an hypothesis concerning the intra-site patterning at various types of agriculturally-oriented sites in the South. Specifically, it was believed that a direct correlation could be observed between the actual patterning of structures and activity areas on the sites, and the social and economic status of the primary site occupants. In this case, the "primary site occupants" are defined as the owners of the land. Basically, it was believed that by looking at the spatial patterning of each of the sites under investigation, and knowing the social and economic status of the primary occupants, it should be possible to gain greater overall insight into the spatial patterning of nineteenth century farm sites in the South. This type of research, in turn, may eventually lead to the development of a predictive model for the determination of structural and activity area locations on historic southern farm sites. A predictive model of this kind could be very helpful in the design and implementation of field methodologies for the recovery of archaeological information about historic southern farm structures and activity areas, provided sufficient background historical research has previously been accomplished to elucidate the social and economic status of the primary site occupants. It must be cautioned, however, that the sample of five sites under examination during this project is probably too small to provide a valid model. However, the research accomplished within the bounds of this project should provide a good starting point for further investigations into this topic.

Through the discussion of the family histories in Chapter IV, it was seen that each of the families under investigation can be classed into a separate social and economic niche. Gilbert Gray (Site 9EB45) was somewhat of a rarity in the early twentieth century South; he was a black landowner. As has been pointed out by The History Group (1981: 126),

After 1900, especially during prosperous times when the cotton brought a good price, other blacks living in the vicinity of Heardmont bought small tracts of property, but, according to local informants, this only happened on a very small scale.

Gray did not retain his land for very long and never really developed the potential of the farm. But, then again, neither did many of the other black farmers who tried to make it on their own. Therefore, Gray can be classed, for the purposes of this discussion, as a black small farmer.

William Franklin Clinkscales and his son, Ezekiel, maintained a fairly steady farm (38AB287) for almost 100 years. Ranging between 450 and around 1,300 acres, this farm apparently never employed a large work force. With only eight slaves working the farm before the Civil War, and possibly no more than that number of persons employed during later years, the Clinkscales can only be classified as white "farmers," not "planters."

The Harpers, on the other hand, can be classed as possibly average, white "planters." With acreage that ranged between 800 and 1,500 acres (38AB21), the ferry operation, Lyndsey Harper's money-lending activities, and Henry Harper's involvement in politics and the Civil War, it appears that this family was heavily engaged in activities traditionally associated with Southern plantation culture. With approximately 42 slaves prior to the Civil War, and possibly as many as 7 or 8 tenant families later, it can be seen that the Harper plantation was being worked by a fairly sizeable labor force.

Finally, the McCalla family appears to have ranked fairly high on the social and economic ladder of the upland South. Owning generally between 2,800 and 3,500 acres (Sites 38AB78 and 38AB67), the McCallas utilized a large work force both before and after the Civil War. It has been estimated that as many as 100 to 120 people may have worked for the McCallas at any one time after the Civil War, while before emancipation George McCalla owned about 85 slaves. Clearly the McCallas can be classed as large plantation owners.

So, the relative social and economic classes that these families occupied are known. Before the intra-site patterning at each of these sites can be examined, nevertheless, the labor and land use patterns at these five sites must also be understood. The Gilbert Gray farm presents no problem. Gray apparently worked the farm himself, using first the residential complex near Beaverdam Creek, then the complex adjacent to County Road 244 as his base of operations. According to informants, the remainder of the land was in agricultural use.

To look at the other sites, however, a brief examination must be made of the relationships between landowners (primary site occupants) and tenants or farm workers (secondary site occupants) after the Civil War. Much has been written on the changes in southern agricultural labor patterns that resulted from the abolition of slavery. Historians have generally agreed that these labor patterns evolved through several stages into an ultimate form of tenancies dispersed across the landholding (Wright 1978:161; THG 1981:112). This evolution was begun with the attempt to preserve the status quo in terms of the black labor force immediately after the Civil War. According to Robert Preston Brooks (1914:410):

The problem confronting the planter in 1865 was to preserve the maximum degree of control over the laborers consonant with their changed condition. The best chance of securing this control seemed to lie in maintaining in most of its essentials the plantation organization.

The plantation was the established form of organization and it was natural that the planters should try to perpetuate it. In 1865, therefore, in a great number of cases all the externals of the former regime were continued: the negroes lived in 'quarters,' went to the fields at tap of farm bell, worked in gangs under direction, and were rationed from the plantation smokehouse, the charge for food being deducted from the wage. A money wage was usually paid in 1865 and 1866, payment being weekly, monthly, or yearly, according to contract.

During the 1870s, however, the wage-paying plantation system began evolving into the more established tenancy system. Wright (1978:161-162) lists several reasons for this change: 1) there were obvious problems in controlling a labor force that was neither a part of the family nor any longer considered a form of property; 2) most blacks preferred to rent land, hoping to achieve a form of independence; and 3) disastrous financial years made planters lose their means of paying for labor and made them want to share the risks of farming. By the turn of the century, tenancy was firmly established in three forms: sharecropping, share renting, and cash renting. However, the wage-labor system did not disappear entirely from the scene, as will be discussed shortly.

The relationship between the primary site occupants and the secondary site occupants in any of these situations could apparently take a number of forms, from a very exploitative arrangement on the part of the landowner to a very compatible relationship. Much of this range was probably because of variation within personalities as well as social pressure. In its most extreme negative form, the relationship between the landowner and the tenant could be called nothing more than "debt peonage" (Daniel 1972, 1979; Ransom and Sutch 1972, 1977). Basically, what this term means is that the tenant was free to move from farm to farm, selling his or her labor, as long as debts could be paid at the end of each harvest. Once debts were tallied, however, the worker was required to stay on the estate as long as necessary to clear the ledgers. A wily landowner was free to maintain a virtually enslaved labor force by ensuring that the workers remained in debt (THG 1981:118-119).

Through a combination of informant interviews and archival research, it has been possible to determine the labor patterns that were employed at the white-owned sites under investigation. The Clinkscals employed a small number of tenants, probably two to three families. The relationships seem to have been amicable, although several tenants did owe money to the Clinkscals. The Harpers apparently had several families living on the plantation after the Civil War, and presumably also maintained good relations with their tenants. That people were relatively free to move from one farm to another is evidenced by the number of times that identical names were given as occupants of different sites. For the McCallas, however, a different story was pieced together. At least to some extent, debt peonage was being actively practiced on the McCalla plantation both during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Caution is being used in discussing the extent to which this practice occurred at the plantation because not as much corroborative evidence was collected as would have

been desired. From all accounts, nevertheless, the McCallas differed from their neighbors in that they apparently maintained the wage-labor system long after the majority of the southern planters had switched to a tenancy system, and the means by which this system was maintained was through some degree of debt peonage. Several informants have stated that the McCallas often acquired their work force by bailing people out of prison, then requiring the prisoners and their families to work for them until the bail was paid back. However, the initial amount owed was often increased by debts to the McCallas for food, rent, and other supplies. Hence, the presence of the "commissary" and the "communal kitchen/smokehouse" at the McCalla II site.

By comparing this information on economic class and labor patterns with the spatial patterning that was observed at these sites, it should be possible to make preliminary statements about the spatial organization on nineteenth century southern farm sites. As information on additional sites is generated and tied into this data, the boundaries between the various types of patterns as they relate to socioeconomic indicators should become more clearly defined.

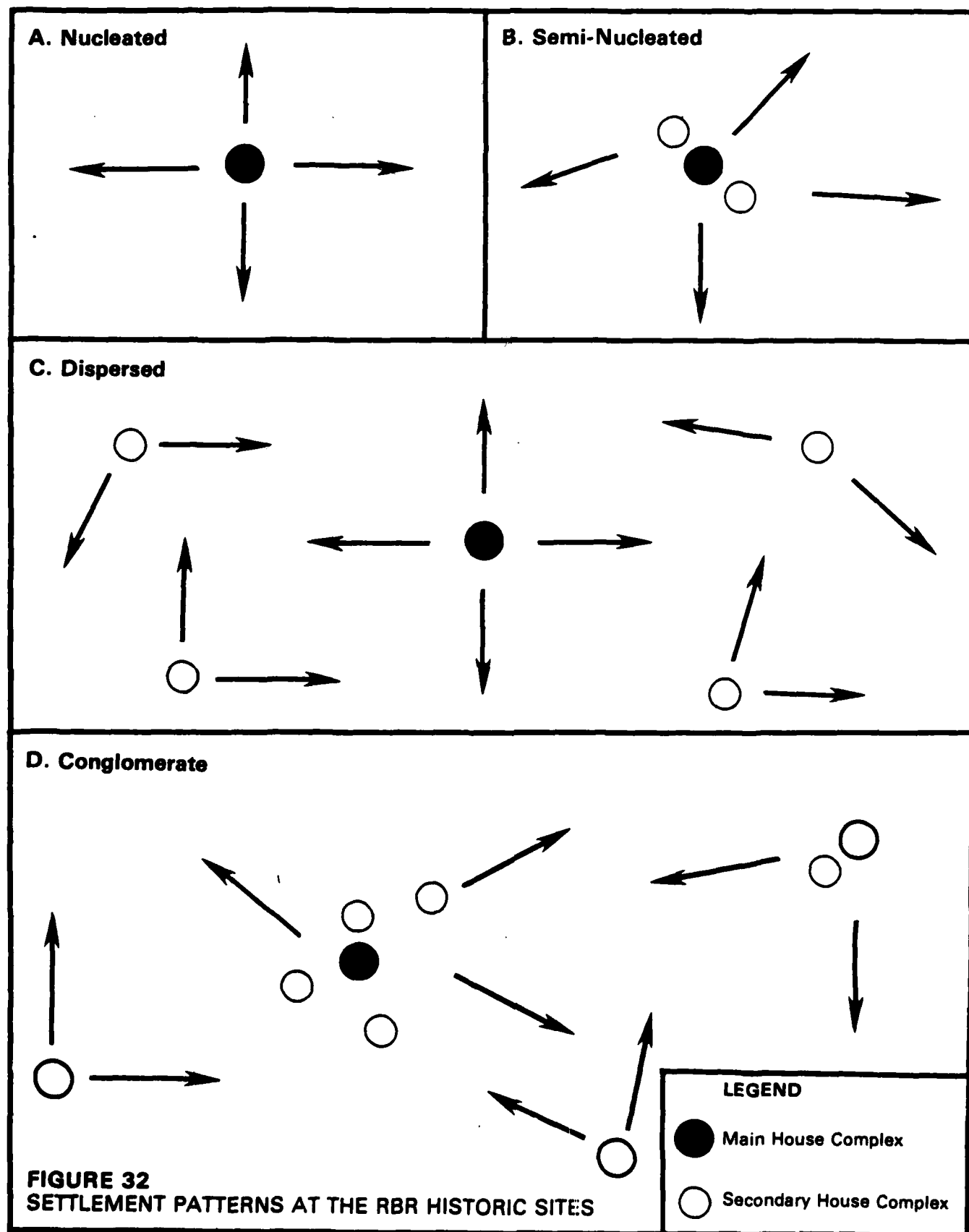
The best means, at the present time, by which the intra-site patterning at these sites can be observed is through the site plans that were developed as a result of the site surveys. It has been said that:

Any map is, in a sense, an attempt at quantification. It provides the empirical evidence on which some theory can be built. But such a map can be totally misleading due to the uneven way archaeological information survives and is collected (Hodder and Orton 1976:17).

Thus, even though certain statements can be made concerning the spatial organization of these sites, it must be cautioned that not all of the information may be available. On the other hand, the credibility of the information on these five sites is probably greater than it would be for five prehistoric sites, where corroborative data from archival research and informant interviews is not available.

The Gilbert Gray site can be considered to be a totally "nucleated" farm (Figures 15 and 16). The term "nucleated" has been used in this context to refer to the immediate placement of outbuildings, auxiliary structures, and activity areas within the main house complex. It appears that all of the agricultural operations at the Gilbert Gray site originated from the main residential complex, and there were no secondary occupants. Figure 32a is a graphic illustration of a "nucleated" settlement pattern.

At the Clinkscates site, the settlement pattern appears to have been what could be termed "semi-nucleated" (Figure 32b). Although two, and possibly three, tenant houses were present at the site, they were located fairly near the main house complex, and most of the agricultural operations probably stemmed from the main complex (Figures 11, 13 and 14). This may have been the result of the fairly small amount of acreage being considered. It did not result in a great loss of efficiency for the tenants at the Clinkscates farm to travel back and forth to the fields since the property was generally not that large to begin with.



The type of settlement pattern that occurred at the Harper site, on the other hand, can be termed a "dispersed" pattern (Figure 32c). Several separate tenancies were set up across the landholding, and each tenancy had, to a certain extent, its own base of operations out of which agricultural labor originated (Figures 17-19, 22, and 26). Some of the tenancies had a large number of outbuildings; others may have had none. All appear, however, to have been situated in such a way as to minimize the amount of travel time between the residential areas and the fields, which were spread out further than at the Clinkscales.

The McCalla sites may be relatively unique in their spatial organization to what can be classed as large plantation sites. If a plantation owner did not employ a wage-labor force, then the settlement pattern of that site would probably be dispersed. However, because the McCallas did apparently maintain a great deal of personal control over at least a portion of their work force, and at the same time owned so much land that it probably would have been inconceivable to farm it all from a central location, a settlement pattern developed at the site that can only be termed "conglomerate" (Figure 32d). The nucleated portion of the plantation occurred around the McCalla II complex, where at least seven tenant houses were clustered relatively close to the primary residential complex. The dispersed component included all the other tenant houses scattered in the peripheral areas of the plantation, where it would have been impractical to farm with a centralized work force (Figures 11, 27, and 31).

To summarize the results of this investigation, each of the four families was found to belong to a separate social and economic class, based on archival and oral historical sources. Subsequently, the use of archaeological field survey, as well as the abovementioned sources, demonstrated that each farm could be classified under a different type of intra-site settlement pattern. According to this investigation, the Gilbert Gray site, that of a small black farmer, can be classified as having a "nucleated" settlement pattern. The Clinkscales site, classified as "semi-nucleated," was operated as a white-owned farm. A "dispersed" settlement pattern was identified at the Harper site, which can be considered to be an "average" white plantation. Finally, the McCalla site, classified as a large plantation, was demonstrated as having a "conglomerate" settlement pattern. The question now arises as to the representativeness of this data. In other words, are certain intra-site settlement patterns "typical" of certain social and economic classes? Is the "nucleated" settlement pattern typical of small black farms, or the "dispersed" pattern typical of average white plantations? These questions cannot be answered with the existing data, although investigations at the Millwood plantation (Orser et al. 1981) have demonstrated that this large plantation may, too, have a "conglomerate" settlement pattern. Nevertheless, before this data can be used in the development of a predictive model for settlement patterning on historic southern farm sites, it must first be ascertained whether or not these settlement patterns can be equated with social and economic classes. To do this, more research of the same type completed here must be conducted on a larger sample of other farm sites. To be adequate, this sample

should probably include at least fifteen additional sites divided into various economic classes. If corroborative data is recovered from this additional study that lends credence to the conclusions presented here, then it should be possible to develop a predictive model for settlement patterning on historic southern farm sites. The usefulness of this model would lie in its ability to direct fieldwork to those areas of major activity on specific historic farms, thereby increasing the efficiency of the fieldwork both in terms of fiscal and temporal constraints, and in terms of the amount of useful data recovered. The success of this type of model, however, would appear to hinge on the amount of background historical research completed prior to fieldwork. For this type of model to work, it would be vital that the social and economic class of the primary site occupants be known. It is sincerely hoped that further research into this topic will be conducted, and that the results of this future work will validate the approach taken in the present investigation.

VI. TRENCH EXCAVATIONS AND RESULTS OF THE ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

As discussed in Chapter II, a major portion of the field investigations was designed to test a hypothesis concerning the distribution of artifacts on domestic sites. It was believed that by excavating a trench across each intact main house site, and subsequently plotting the distribution of artifact types throughout the trench, it would then be possible to objectively analyze the degree of utility possessed by artifact patterning studies conducted on historic sites. Of course, several controls were deemed necessary to validate the results of these tests. One, the layout of each house prior to its destruction, if known, would provide the necessary corroboration for the assigning of function to various parts of the house. Secondly, it was believed that, for the results of the archaeological tests to be considered valid, the degree and kinds of salvage that were practiced on each of the sites would have to be known. This information was collected for the three intact house sites in a general way from informant interviews. However, there is always the possibility that the informants themselves may be wrong about the degree of salvage that took place on each site. Finally, the results of excavations at a site where no salvage or artifact disintegration is known to have taken place, and where persons who were living in the house at the time it was destroyed were present to validate the excavation results, were used as an ultimate control for the test results themselves. Basically, the results of the excavations at the Sproull-Harrison house were considered to be the ideal against which the excavations at the other sites could be judged.

The following discussion of the trench excavations and the results of artifact analysis is divided into several parts. Firstly, the house sites will be described as will the methods used during the excavation of each trench, and the results of each trench excavation. Secondly, the system of artifact description and analysis that was used during this project will be discussed. Finally, the results of the artifact analysis will be interpreted, and the efficacy of artifact patterning studies in general will be examined.

THE HOUSES AND THE TRENCHES

CLINKSCALES HOUSE SITE (38AB287)

The Clinkscapes house site has sustained very little alteration since the destruction of the house by fire in 1977. Two holes have been excavated at some time during the last five years, presumably by bottle collectors, but overall the site has maintained a high degree of integrity. No one who was interviewed about the site recalls that any salvage was undertaken at any time after the fire.

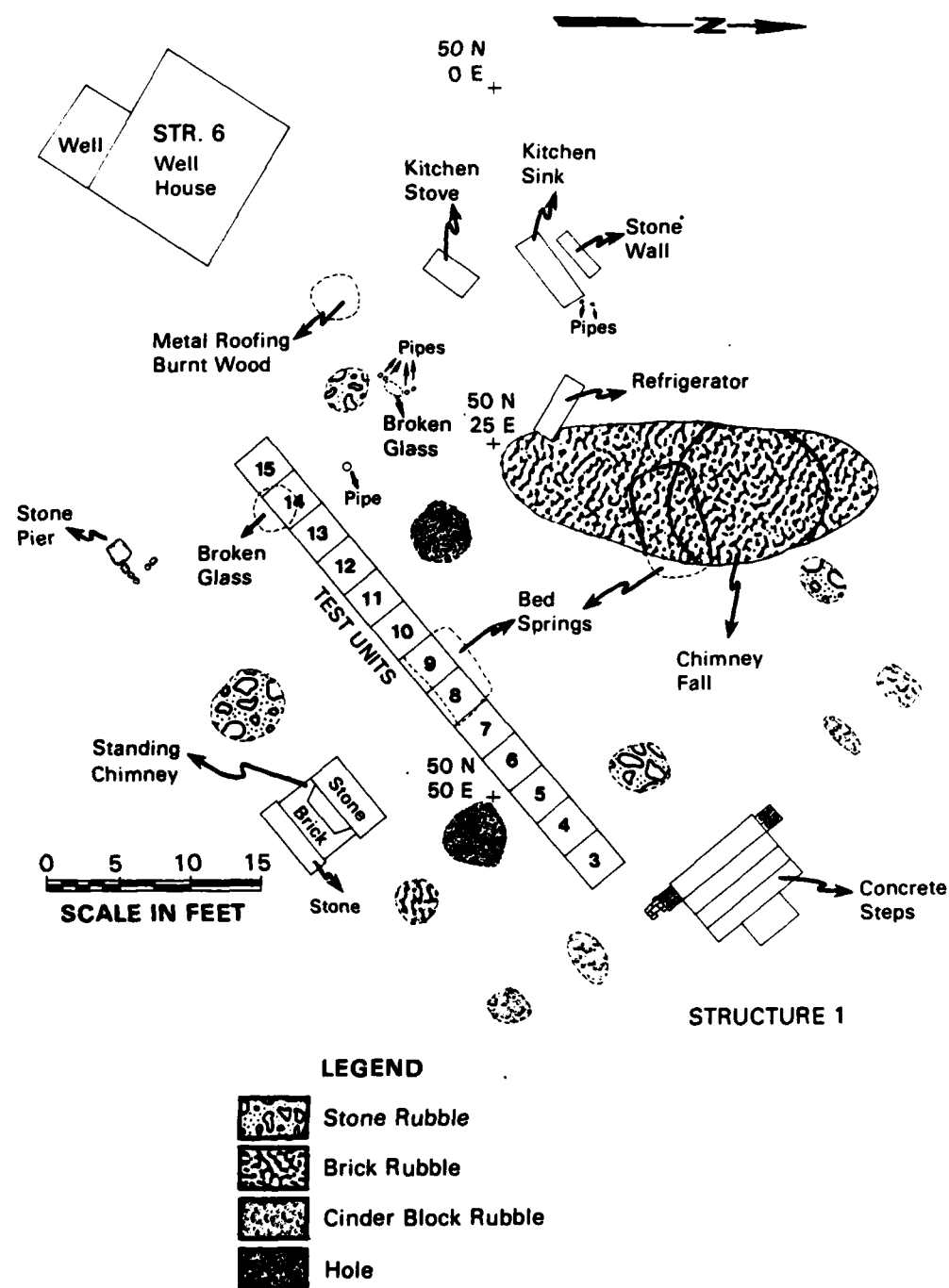
Upon initial examination of the site, the house remains consisted of one collapsed brick chimney fall on the northwest side of the house (the house faces northeast), and a partially standing brick chimney on the southeast side (Figure 33). This latter chimney, which had a stone base, was pulled down by vandals halfway through the field investigations. The original house piers were constructed of stone, but one brick pier, possibly a replacement, was found at the east corner of the house. The front porch that was on the house when it burned was undoubtedly built after the turn of the century, since the support piers for the porch and the steps are all constructed of cinder blocks. At the time that the house burned, the kitchen was apparently located in the west corner of the house; in this location were found a refrigerator, sink, and stove, as well as water pipes extending out of the ground (Figure 33). The main part of the house measured about 34' by 38', and the front porch added an extra 10 feet to the width of the house.

The house trench at the Clinkscates site was laid in across the house from what would have been the front to the back (Figure 33). It ran from northeast to southwest across the southeastern half of the house. The deciding factor in plotting the location of the trench was being able to avoid the major concentrations of brick rubble and large appliances that were present on the northwestern half of the site. Thirteen 3' x 3' units (Test Units 3 through 15) were excavated in a contiguous line. The excavation strategy was to remove Level 1 from each unit in the entire trench, bagging the recovered artifacts by test unit and level provenience, then photographing and mapping the trench floor before excavating the next level.

Level 1 across the entire length of the Clinkscates trench consisted of a combination of ash, cinders, charcoal, and rubble that was deposited as a result of the fire. The depth of Level 1 varied from unit to unit, with a range of 0.10 foot to 0.25 foot below surface. In general, the thickest deposits were found in Units 3 to 7, and the thinnest deposits in Units 8 through 12. Most of the artifacts that were recovered during the excavation of Level 1 exhibit evidence of burning, and were obviously deposited as a result of the demolition of the house.

Once Level 1 was removed, it was observed that a number of features were present in Level 2 (Plate 11, upper left). The soil composition of Level 2 was, for the most part, a dark yellowish brown (10YR3/4 or 10YR3/6) silty sand. However, in several areas of the trench, most notably in Units 5-8, 11, and 12, were found areas of very dark brown (10YR2/2) silty sand that appear to have been discolored through burning (Figure 34, middle). Other features that appeared in Level 2 were primarily concentrations of burnt mortar and brick. A number of bricks and stones were observed throughout Level 2, but in only two instances did these appear to be more than rubble from the conflagration. In Units 8 and 10 were found two possible parallel rows of stones and/or bricks that may have been intentionally placed in their locations. The purpose of these rows, if indeed they had a purpose, is unknown. It is doubtful that they were used as house supports since each consisted of only one course. Further excavation would have had to have been conducted on either side of these units to determine if these stones and bricks did indeed constitute the remains of actual rows.

FIGURE 33
CLINKSCALES SITE (38AB287)
STRUCTURES 1 AND 6



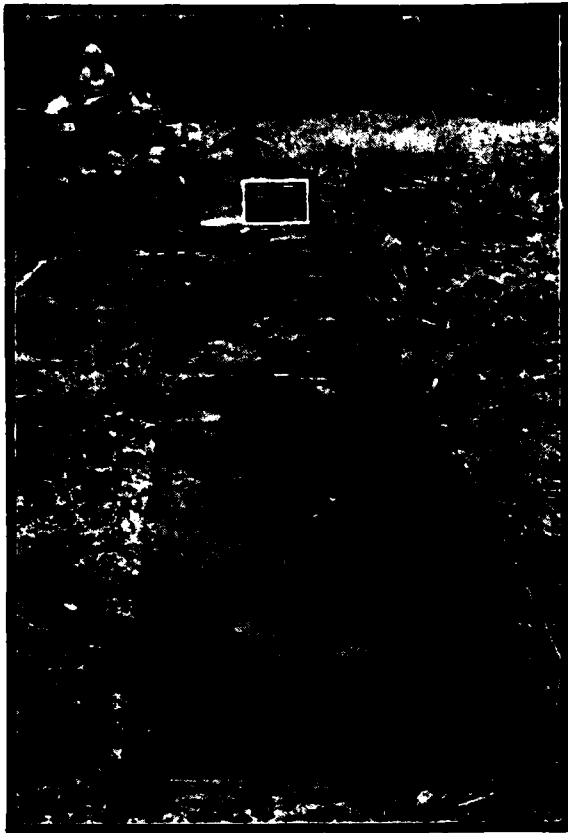


PLATE 11.

Upper Left: Clinkscale (38AB287)
House Trench, Level 1 Removed.

Lower Left: Clinkscale (38AB287)
House Trench, Level 2 Removed.

Lower Right: Harper (38AB21) House
Trench, Level 1 Removed.

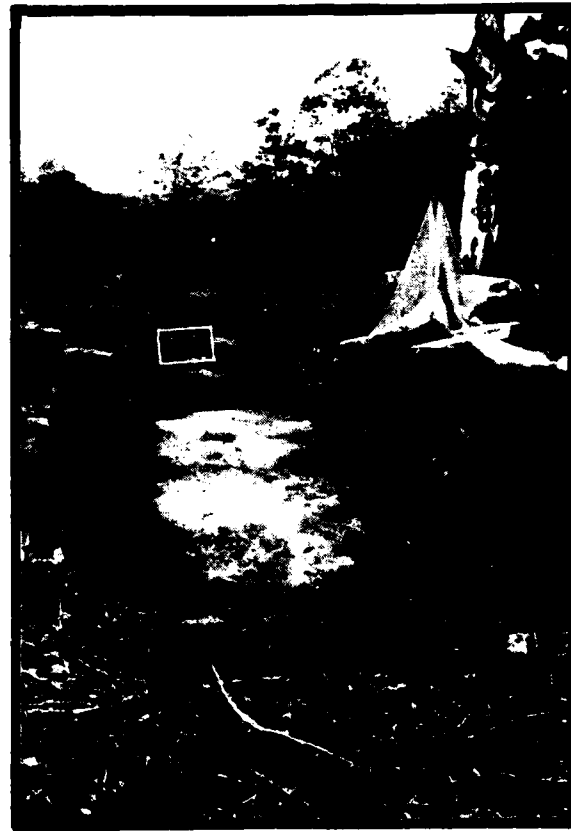
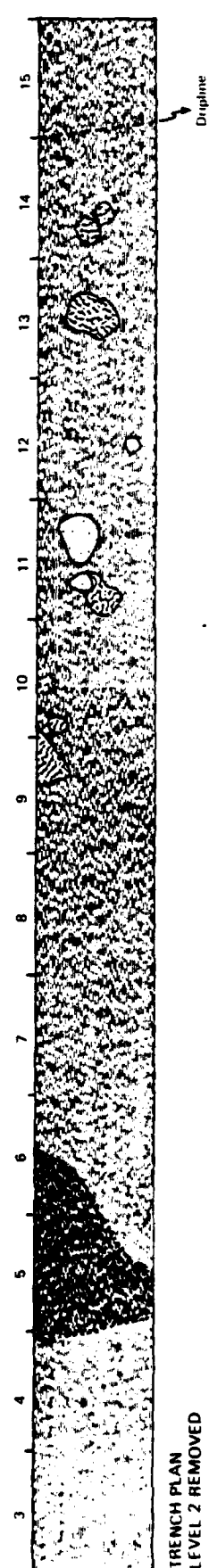
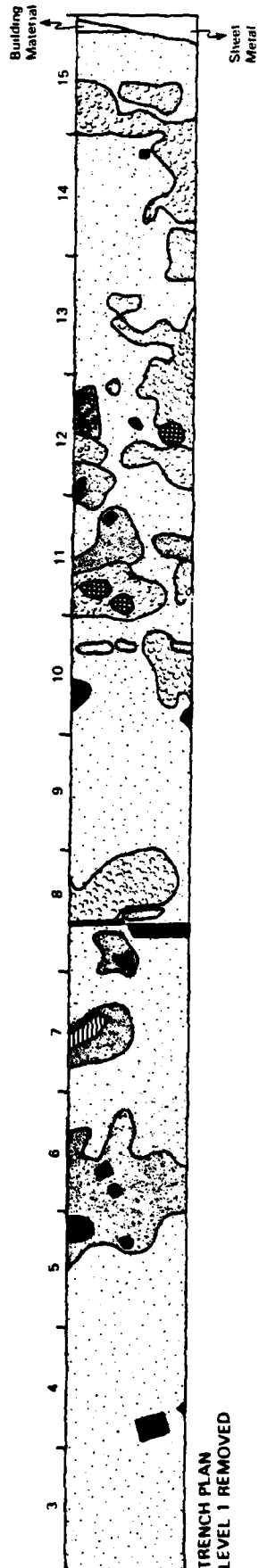
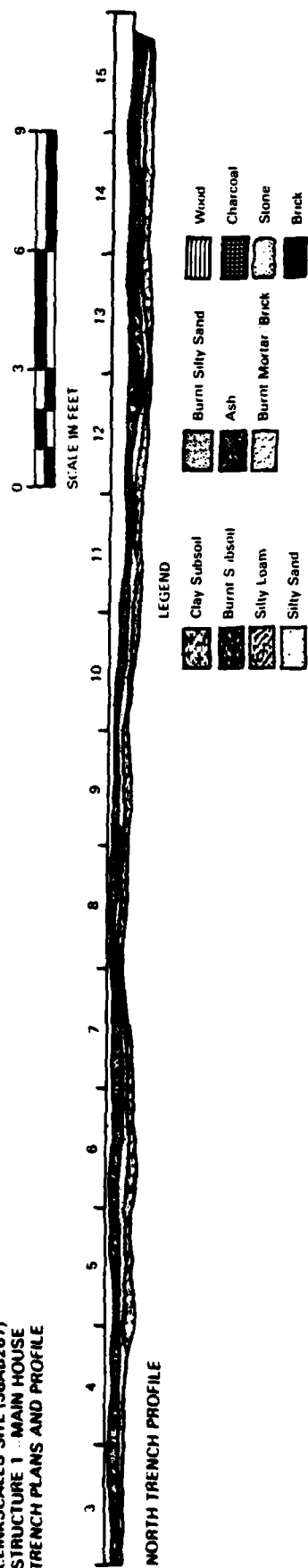


FIGURE 34
CLINKSCALES SITE (38AB287)
STRUCTURE 1 - MAIN HOUSE
TRENCH PLANS AND PROFILE



Level 2 was removed in the same manner as Level 1. Except for the features of burnt mortar and brick, Level 2 appears to have been the original soil under the house. Its depth generally ranged around 0.20 foot thick, but in Unit 7 it was as thin as 0.08 foot. Level 2 lay on top of subsoil, a red (2.5YR5/8) clay, throughout the trench (Figure 34, bottom). Artifacts recovered from Level 2 were relatively sparse in comparison to Level 1, and consisted of both historic and lithic material (the prehistoric component at the Clinkscapes site is described in Appendix A). Several features of brown (7.5YR3/4) to dark brown (7.5YR4/4) silty loam and very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silty sand were found in the subsoil, but all turned out to be root disturbances.

An interesting phenomenon that was observed at the Clinkscapes site, as well as at the Harper and McCalla I sites, was a pronounced dripline at the edge of the house (Plate 11, lower left). Without the use of guttering along the eaves of the house, rain was free to pour off the edges onto the easily-erodable clay soil below. This, combined with the common practice of sweeping the yard of debris, which appears to have been conducted at all three sites, resulted in the erosion of the yard around the house to a depth of several inches below the original ground surface. However, the soil directly under the house was sheltered from the effects of both rain and sweeping activities, thereby retaining much of its original composition and depth.

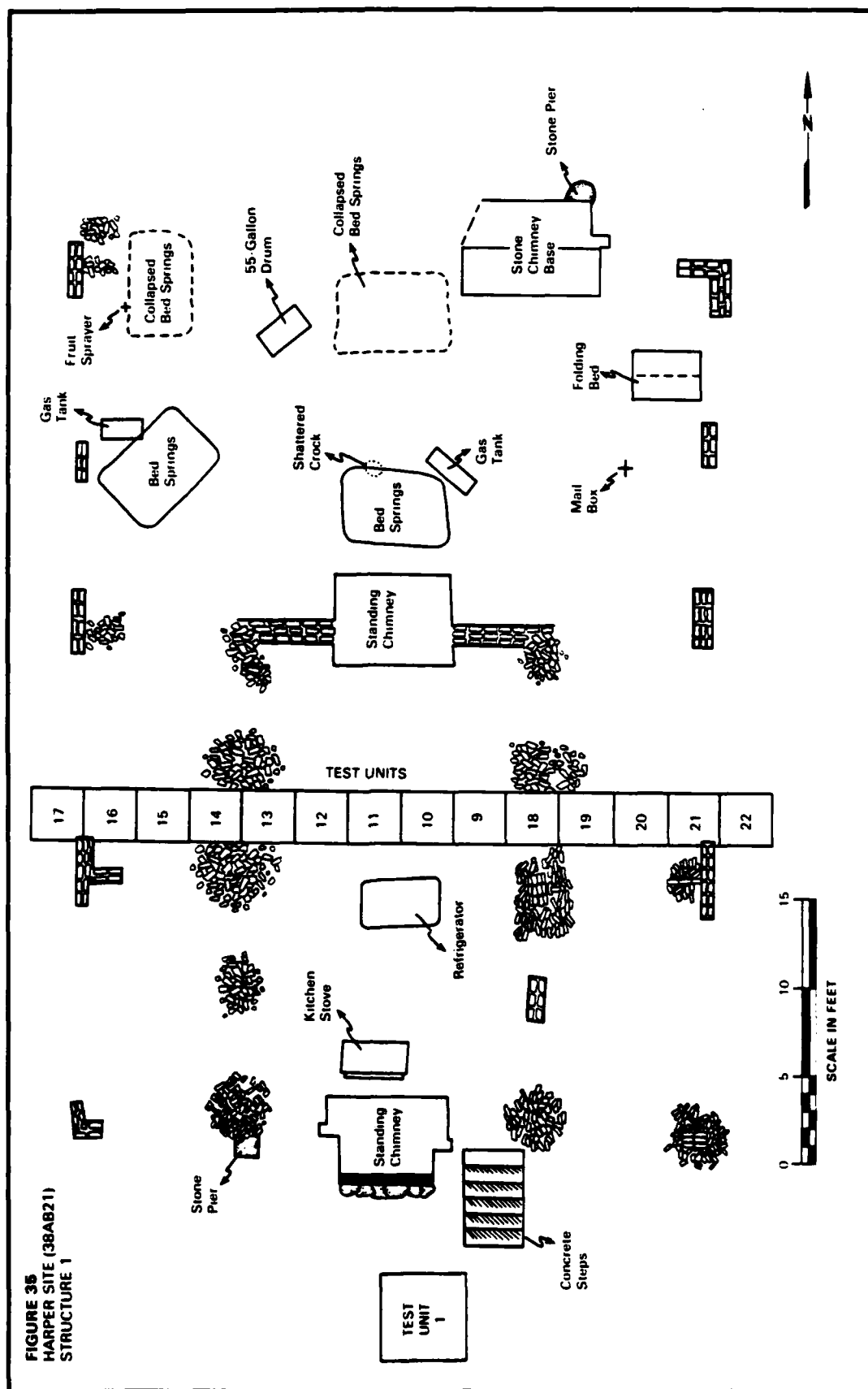
HARPER HOUSE SITE (38AB21)

The Harper house site had been virtually untouched from the time that the house burned in 1965 until the field crew began excavations in 1981. As far as the informants for the site could remember, no salvage operations had taken place after the house burned. When the fieldwork was initiated at the Harper house, it was covered with a dense growth of honeysuckle, poison ivy, and sumac. The sumac averaged four to five feet tall. Much of the house site was also still covered with the standing seam metal that had covered the roof before the fire, and the site appeared to have been totally undisturbed.

The remains of the house supports consisted of both standing brick piers and piles of brick rubble where piers had once been located (Figure 35). Two standing brick chimneys were located opposite each other and about 25 feet apart. A third chimney base, constructed of stone, was located 18 feet further north and off-center to the east of the northernmost brick chimney. The total dimensions of the house ruins were about 36' by 50'. A set of concrete steps was present on the south end of the house where the walkway had once led to the summer kitchen. After the summer kitchen was destroyed, the kitchen was apparently moved into the south end of the house, as evidenced by the presence of a refrigerator and kitchen stove in that area. That bedrooms were located in the north end of the house was made apparent by the number of bed springs that were found.

The test trench at the Harper site was located across the width of the house, between the two standing brick chimneys (Figure 35). Four-

FIGURE 35
HARPER SITE (38AB21)
STRUCTURE 1

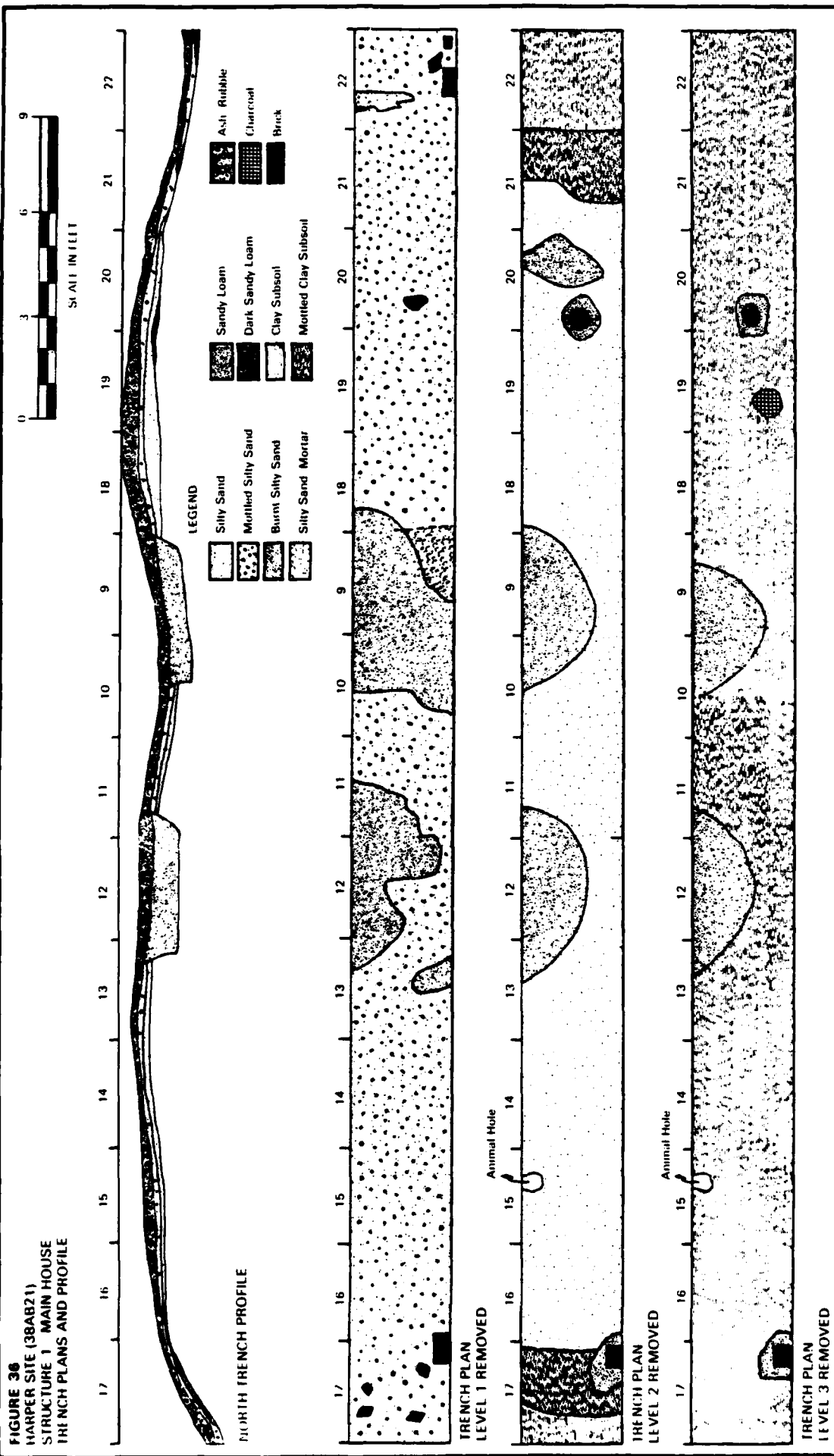


teen test units (Test Units 9 through 22), each measuring 3' x 3', were excavated in a contiguous line. It should be noted that the numbering of the test units was originally determined by the belief that two trenches were to be excavated across the house. Thus, the numbers of the units were to be assigned such that they would emanate outwards from a central location. When plans for the second trench was abandoned, the numbering on the existing trench remained unchanged.

The excavation of the house trench at the Harper site (38AB21) proceeded much in the same manner as the excavation of the Clinkscales (38AB287) house trench. Again, Level 1 at the Harper house consisted of a dense root mat, and ash and rubble deposited as a result of the destruction of the house by fire (Figure 36). The depth of this level ranged from around 0.10 foot to over 0.40 foot. With Level 1 removed, Level 2 was observed to be a mottled dark brown (7.5YR4/4) sandy silt. Two large features were noted, one (Feature 10) in Units 11, 12, and 13, and another (Feature 11) in Units 18, 9, and 10 (Figure 36). Both of these features were similar in composition, consisting of a burnt silty sand with numerous flecks of charcoal (Plate 11, lower right). Another feature (Feature 13), found in Unit 20, appeared on the surface of Level 2 to be either a root mold or a posthole. Further excavation revealed that it was indeed a postmold (Figure 36). Finally, two other features in Units 13 and 22 turned out to be the remains of charred timbers from the demolition of the house.

After the surface of Level 2 was photographed and mapped, it was excavated completely from all of the units in the trench. The depth of this level was relatively thin throughout the trench, ranging from around 0.15 foot in Units 18, 20, and 21 to being nonexistent on Features 10 and 11 (Figure 36). Below Level 2 was found a lighter, brownish yellow (10YR6/6) silty sand (Level 3). The Level 3 soil was apparently what had originally been the ground surface of the site. In it was found unburned artifacts relating to the occupation periods at the house. Also, the Level 3 soil stopped abruptly at the edges of the house platform in Units 17 and 21, thereby indicating that it had been eroded away in the unprotected areas of the yard. Features 10 and 11, with Level 2 removed, became much more regular in appearance, both being of about the same size and semicircular in shape (Figure 36). In addition, Feature 13, the postmold, gained a completely circular shape and was surrounded by the beginnings of a posthole. Two new features also appeared on the surface of Level 3: Feature 15, a shallow depression with no apparent function that was observed in Unit 20, and Feature 16, a builder's trench around the standing brick pier in Unit 17 (Figure 36). Feature 15 bottomed out very quickly in the excavation of Level 3 and was not observed at all as being intrusive into the subsoil. Feature 16, the builder's trench, consisted of a strong brown (7.5YR5/6) sandy loam that extended to a depth of one foot below the surface of subsoil. The only artifact recovered from the builder's trench, other than brick fragments and mortar, was a cut common nail.

Excavation of Level 3 revealed subsoil, a reddish yellow (7.5YR6/8) clay, directly below (Figure 36). Level 3 ranged in thickness from a very thin lens in Unit 16 to almost 0.40 foot in Units 18 and 19. With Level 3 removed, the three remaining cultural features were very clearly



observed. Features 10 and 11 were excavated to depths of around 0.8 foot and 0.65 foot below subsoil, respectively. As the features were excavated, the soil gradually changed into an olive brown (2.5YR4/4) clayey silt. Artifacts recovered from the features included clear window glass, pieces of a bone-handled knife, and cut and drawn nails from Feature 10; and a portion of a brown-glazed earthenware doorknob, and cut and drawn nails from Feature 11. Prehistoric materials were also found in both features; these are discussed in Appendix A. The function of these two, obviously related features is unclear. It has been hypothesized that the pits could have been created either by children playing, for utility work below the joists, or for mixing mortar. The recent dates of some of the material in the features indicates that the pits were probably originally excavated during the early twentieth century. Probably the most likely explanation, then, for their presence is that they were dug to allow extra room for conducting repair work underneath the house.

Feature 13, the postmold with its associated posthole, extended for a depth of 1.07 feet into subsoil. The circular postmold consisted of a dark reddish brown (5YR3/2) sandy loam, and the square posthole consisted of a lighter sandy loam. Artifacts included in the posthole included one piece of ironstone and two brick fragments; and from the postmold, one piece of gray stoneware and five prehistoric artifacts. The function of the post is unknown, and there was found no other associated features. Upon completion of the trench excavations at the Harper house, a photograph was taken showing the two large semicircular features and the pronounced drop at the edge of the house platform (Plate 12, upper left).

McCALLA I HOUSE SITE (38AB78)

According to local informants, the McCalla I house did not burn as did the Harper and Clinkscals houses. Rather, it apparently collapsed sometime during the 1930s. This information, however, may not be altogether accurate according to the archaeological evidence. The artifacts that were recovered from the excavations at the house site consist of both burned and unburned objects. The amount of unburned artifacts is sufficiently higher than that of burned artifacts to lend support to the assumption that the house collapsed. But the presence of the burned artifacts, all of which were found in Level 1 and its associated features, means that the possibility of a fire having occurred at the site cannot be ignored. The best explanation for the presence of the burned artifacts is that the collapsed remains of the house may have ultimately been further destroyed by a low-intensity fire, either accidentally or intentionally lit. This would account for only some of the artifacts having been burned or melted, as well as for the presence of several areas of possibly burned soil.

The oral history information concerning the possibility of salvage practices at the McCalla I site is also not as good as for the other two sites. While none of the three informants who were interviewed recalled that any salvage had taken place at the site, they admitted that it may

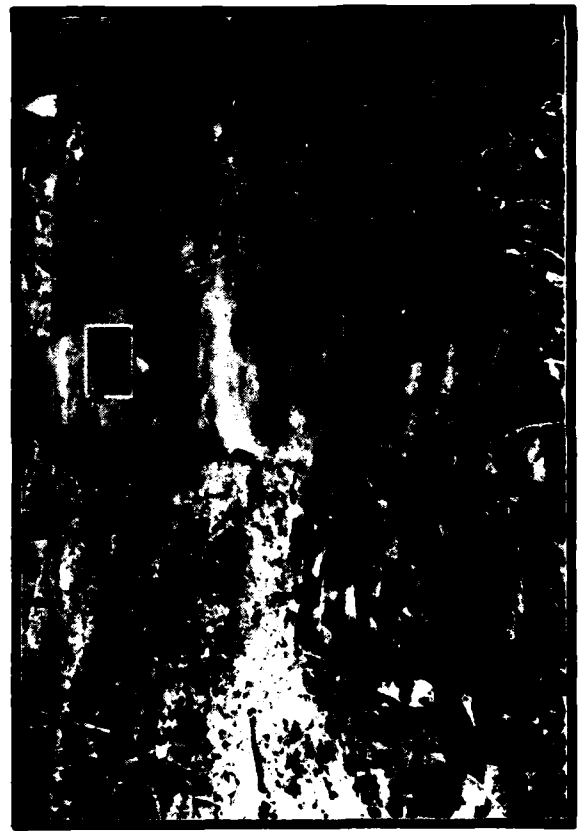


PLATE 12.

Upper Left: Harper (38AB21) House Trench, Level 3 Removed.

Upper Right: McCalla I (38AB78) House Site, West Chimney Base.

Lower Left: McCalla I (38AB78) House Trench, Level 2 Removed.

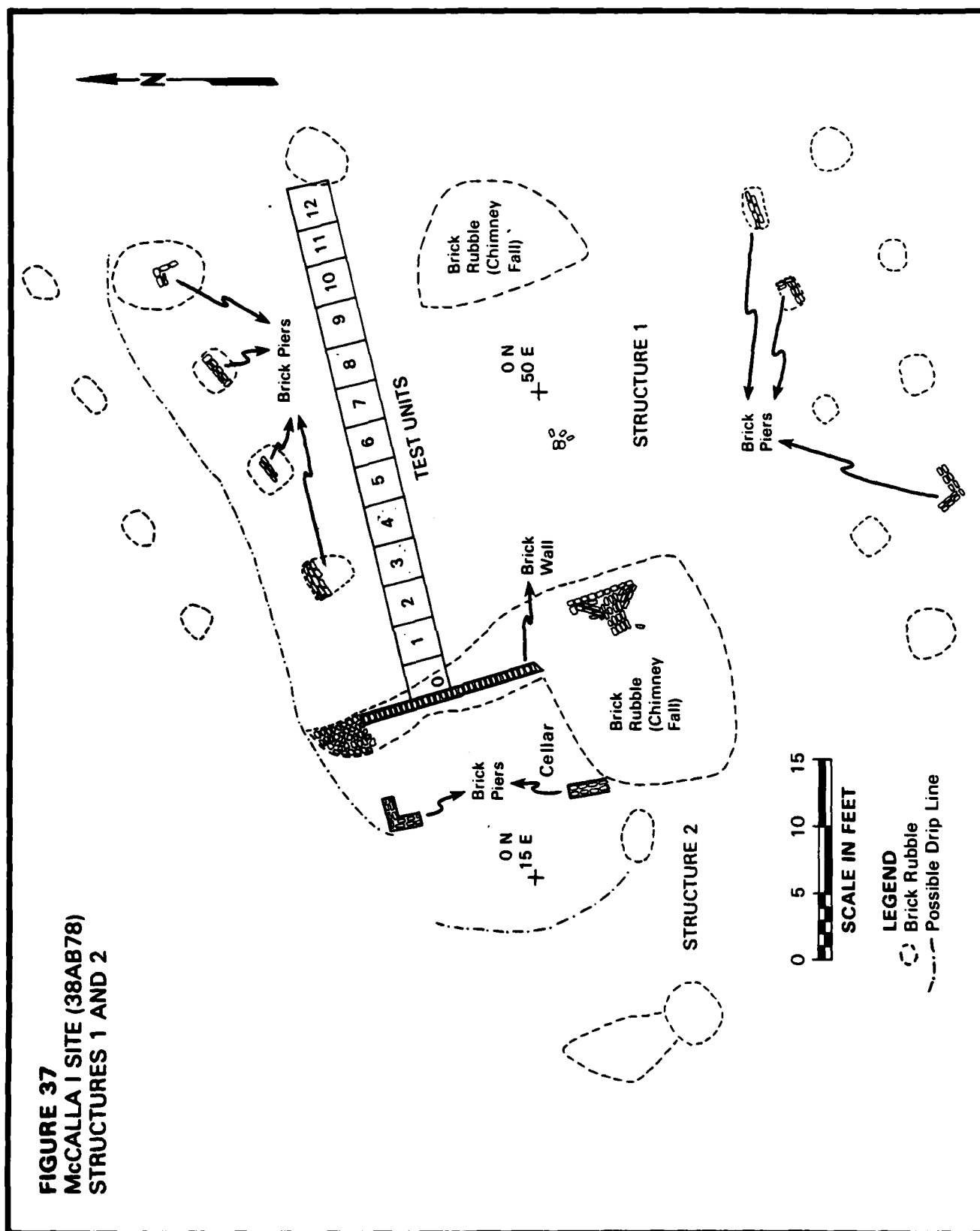
have occurred without their knowing about it. Moreover, there is a distinct possibility that salvage has indeed taken place at the McCalla I site to a certain extent, as evidenced by the total absence of the large, bulky artifacts (sheetmetal roofing, bedsprings, etc.) that characterize so many of the other sites in the area. It is possible that enough time has passed since the creation of the site to result in the disintegration of many of these artifacts, but this possibility is not conducive to testing under the present circumstances. It is also possible that, if the house was abandoned prior to its collapse, the occupants would have taken items such as beds and appliances with them. Nevertheless, results of the artifact analysis at the McCalla I site will be treated with caution since the salvage variable cannot be tightly controlled.

The remains of the McCalla I house have been subject to much more disturbance and weathering, obviously, than have the house remains at the other two sites. Yet, sufficient integrity exists to allow several interpretations to be made of the archaeological evidence. The house was built on brick piers, some of which were constructed of double bricks. Several of the brick piers are still intact, but most have been reduced to piles of brick rubble. The main part of the house apparently measured about 40' by 50'. In addition, there appears to have been an addition on the south side, possibly a porch, that measured 7.5' by 30', and another on the north side that measured 10' x 27.5'. The two brick chimneys seemingly were located on the interior walls, not on the gable ends as was suggested on the 1836 map showing this house (Figure 9). Although these chimneys have largely dwindled into piles of rubble, still the base and a portion of the hearth of the west chimney was found intact (Plate 12, upper right).

A unique feature of the McCalla I house is that it possessed a cellar. No cellars were found at any of the other sites, and, in fact, cellars are relatively uncommon architectural features throughout this portion of the South, because of the mild winters. Yet, the McCallas had a cellar. It was located under the western side of the house; an extant brick wall separates it from the unexcavated soil that lay beneath the main part of the house (Figure 37). The walls of the cellar are a combination of brick and field stone. The hole measures approximately 7.5' by about 14', but a portion of it appears to have been filled in by the rubble from the west chimney fall. No archaeological investigations were conducted in the cellar because of the amount of rubble that would have had to have been removed and the short amount of time available for fieldwork.

According to a local informant, Mr. T.H. Waters (personal communication 1982), the McCalla I house was one story high, with two rooms on either side of a central hallway. He remembered it as having a porch across the entire front width of the house and windows that extended all the way to the floor. He did not remember the house as possessing a cellar per se, but rather that an enclosed area existed under one side that was used for storage. From this description it can be concluded that the enclosed area in Mr. Waters' memory is probably the same as the cellar identified in the field.

FIGURE 37
McCALLA I SITE (38AB78)
STRUCTURES 1 AND 2



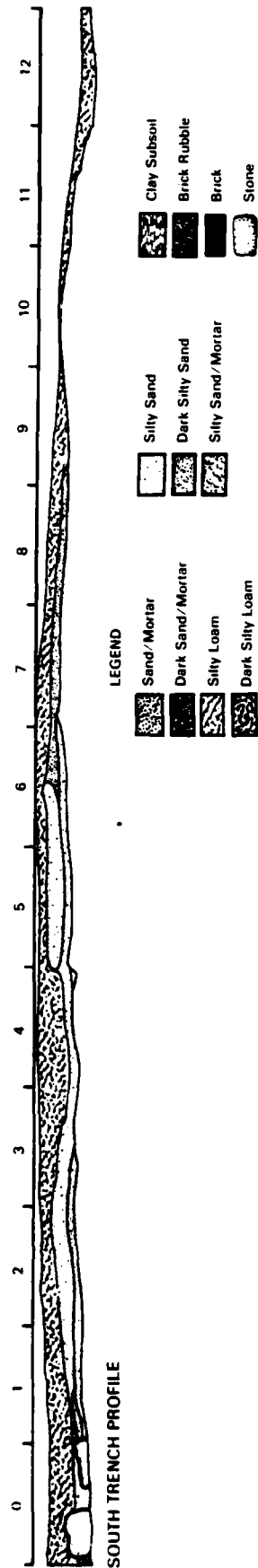
The house trench at the McCalla I site was laid out across the width of the house, rather than between the chimneys as was the case at the other two sites. This was a practical decision made in the field, the rationale of which has been lost. Needless to say, it affects the comparison of this trench with the other two house trench excavations. The trench was located roughly perpendicular to the brick wall of the cellar, and extended to beyond the east wall of the house (Figure 37). Thirteen 3' x 3' units (Test Units 0-12) were excavated in the continuous line. Level 1 in the trench consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam; some of the soil in the level was still very apparently a leaf mold. Bricks and pieces of timber were removed from the surface, but not collected. The thickness of Level 1 ranged from almost 0.70 foot in Unit 4 to a thin lens in Unit 10 (Figure 38).

With Level 1 excavated, several features appeared. In fact, it was difficult to determine exactly what was the Level 2 soil consistency. It was decided, however, that Level 2 consisted primarily of a yellowish brown (10YR5/6) silty sand and a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty sand (Figure 37, middle). In Units 10, 11, and 12, subsoil, a dark reddish brown (5YR3/4) clay, appeared directly below Level 1. Feature 1 was first observed along the very western edge of Unit 0, adjacent to the brick wall of the cellar. This was identified as the builder's trench for the wall. It consisted of a mixture of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) silty sand and mortar. Level 2 throughout the rest of Unit 0 and half of Unit 1 consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR3/6) silty loam. This was designated Feature 2. However, when Level 2 was removed, it was observed that Feature 1 and Feature 2 may both have been parts of the builder's trench (Figure 38, bottom). A number of stones and bricks were found in Feature 2. The builder's trench only extended to a depth of around 0.42 foot below subsoil. Artifacts that were included within Feature 1 are burned ceramics, melted glass, unburned ceramics (alkaline-glazed stoneware and porcelain), window glass, bottle glass, wrought and cut nails, burned wood, and burned bone. Feature 2 also had burned wood, and burned bone. The presence of high amounts of burned artifacts in the features is puzzling, unless perhaps the features had not accumulated much soil deposition prior to the fire.

Feature 3 was an irregularly shaped area of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) silty loam found in Level 2 in Units 3, 4, and 5 (Figure 38, middle). No known function was apparent for this shallow depression. Artifacts recovered from the feature included, again, burned ceramics, unburned ceramics (porcelain and coarse red earthenware), container glass (clear and amber), window glass, melted glass, cut and wrought nails, and a worked bone handle. Adjacent to Feature 3, in Units 5 through 7, was Feature 4, an area of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sand heavily mixed with mortar. This was also a shallow feature and apparently resulted from the demolition of the house. This feature included a few pieces of burned ceramics and melted glass, but it also included several fragments of ironstone, window glass, clear and green bottle glass, cut nails, and drawn-wire nails.

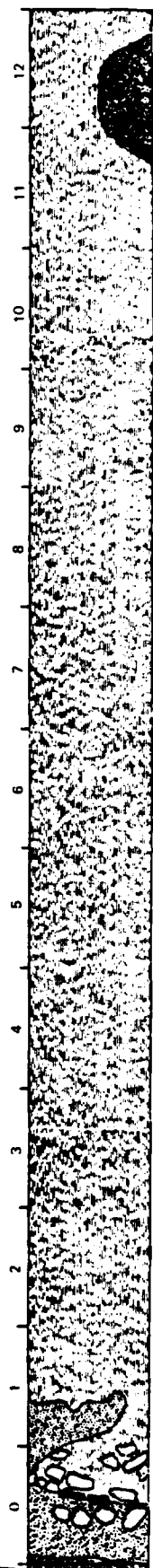
During excavation, Level 2 was discovered to consist of several lenses, distinguished from each other primarily by degree of compaction. These were labelled 2a, 2b, and 2c in the field, and artifacts were

FIGURE 38
McCALLA SITE (38AB78)
STRUCTURE 1 - MAIN HOUSE
TRENCH PLANS AND PROFILE



TRENCH PLAN
LEVEL 1 REMOVED

Brick Wall



TRENCH PLAN
LEVEL 2 REMOVED

bagged separately. However, further analysis reveals that all appear to have been part of a single level. It ranged in thickness from 0.60 foot to a very thin lens. Upon removal of Level 2, a new feature, Feature 5, was discovered in Units 0 and 1 (Figure 38, bottom). This feature consisted of a strong brown (7.5YR4/6), culturally sterile sand lens just above subsoil. Finally, the completed excavation of the house trench at the McCalla I site also revealed the presence of a platform, beyond which the soil had been eroded (Plate 12, lower left).

THE ARTIFACTS

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the past two decades, many historical archaeologists in the United States have adopted a classification system for historic artifacts that was developed by Stanley South in 1960 (South 1962). In South's system, artifacts are analyzed within a generalized type-ware-material-class-group system (Table 38), in which the most detailed analysis is performed at the "type" level and the most generalized analysis occurs at the "group" level. The more detailed levels of analysis within this system are based primarily upon differences in formal characteristics, while more and more functional considerations are taken into account in the upper-level analyses. At the class level, South identifies 42 separate categories, based largely on formal differences, with some differences in function. These classes are then clustered into nine functional groups (Table 39). The assumption underlying South's classification system is that comparison of results at the various levels of organization will produce answers to questions that are consistent with the degree of generalization at that level. For instance, information on broad cultural processes should be revealed at the group level of organization because of the "functional relationship between the group and generalized behavioral activity in the cultural system" (South 1977:93), while at the type level of classification, differences in stylistic properties and manufacturing techniques will be the primary kinds of information that are revealed.

While many archaeologists have used South's classification system in a variety of contexts, it is primarily designed for use on sites that date to before 1850. With the advent of the industrial revolution, both the number and the types of artifacts increased way beyond those represented in South's classification system. In fact, such great changes are present between the artifact assemblages represented in South's classification and those of the post-industrial revolution era that even South's functional groups are not sufficient to cover the wide range of data that is produced from sites that post-date this period.

The sites that have been investigated during this project primarily date from circa 1820 to the present. Because of their long and/or recent dates of use or occupation, the artifactual material that was recovered from these sites is both large in quantity and diverse in

Table 38. South's Artifact Classification System. Source: South 1977:93.

<u>Type</u>	<u>Ware</u>	<u>Material</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Group</u>
Blue painted pearlware	<div> <div>Pearlware</div> <div>Creamware</div> <div>Whiteware</div> <div>etc.</div> </div>	Earthenware	Ceramics	<div> <div>Wine Bottle</div> <div>Case Bottle</div> <div>Tumbler</div> <div>Pharmaceutical Bottle</div> <div>Glassware</div> <div>Tableware</div> <div>Kitchenware</div> <div>etc.</div> </div>
Polychrome painted pearlware				
Annular pearlware				
Edge decorated pearlware etc.				
		Stoneware		Kitchen
		Porcelain		
		Tinware		
		Woodenware (treen)		
		Pewterware etc.		
				<div> <div>Bone</div> <div>Architecture</div> <div>Furniture</div> <div>Arms</div> <div>Clothing</div> <div>Personal</div> <div>Tobacco Pipe</div> <div>Activities</div> </div>

Table 39. South's Artifact Classes and Groups. Source: South 1977:95-96.

Kitchen Artifact Group

Class

1. Ceramics
2. Wine Bottle
3. Case Bottle
4. Tumbler
5. Pharmaceutical Type Bottle
6. Glassware
7. Tableware
8. Kitchenware

Bone Group

Class

9. Bone Fragments

Architectural Group

Class

10. Window Glass
11. Nails
12. Spikes
13. Construction Hardware
14. Door Lock Parts

Furniture Group

Class

15. Furniture Hardware

Arms Group

Class

16. Musket Balls, Shot, Sprue
17. Gunflints, Gunspalls
18. Gun Parts, Bullet Molds

Clothing Group

Class

19. Buckles
20. Thimbles
21. Buttons
22. Scissors
23. Straight Pins
24. Hook and Eye Fasteners
25. Bale Seals
26. Glass Beads

Personal Group

Class

27. Coins
28. Keys
29. Personal Items

Tobacco Pipe Group

Class

30. Tobacco Pipes

Activities Group

Class

31. Construction Tools
 32. Farm Tools
 33. Toys
 34. Fishing Gear
 35. Stub-stemmed Pipes
 36. Colono-Indian Pottery
 37. Storage Items
 38. Ethnobotanical
 39. Stable and Barn
 40. Miscellaneous Hardware
 41. Other
 42. Military Objects
-
-

scope. For these reasons, it was decided that although South's classification is certainly a valid one for colonial and early American sites, a classification system would need to be developed that would more accurately reflect the types of activities (and their behavioral implications) that take place within a more recent context as well. Thus, a more general and more comprehensive classification system was generated.

In the formulation of this classification system, South's assumption about the use of hierarchical levels of organization was considered to be a valid one and was also used as the basis for this system. In this system, there are eight functional categories, as opposed to South's nine categories, plus separate categories for miscellaneous objects and nonidentifiable artifacts. The eight functional groups and the major classes that are included within them, on a "best fit" basis, are shown in Table 40.

As can be observed from a comparison of Tables 39 and 40, the expanded classification system differs from South's classification in several respects. For example, the Subsistence group in the expanded system actually consists of South's Kitchen group (minus non-subsistence related bottles and glassware) plus his Bone group (but only if the bone appears to be butchered or cooked), with the addition of artifacts representing other kinds of subsistence-related containers and the use of processed foods. However, the expanded Structural group is nearly identical to South's Architecture group (with the addition of building materials and utilities-related artifacts), and the expanded Furnishings/Appliances group is very similar to South's Furniture group (with the addition of electrical appliances).

The expanded Weaponry group includes those artifacts classes that South subsumed under his Arms group, with the addition of knives and military objects from his Activities group. The differences between South's Clothing group and the expanded Clothing/Adornment group are negligible, being primarily in terms of additional types of clothing-related artifacts that were either not available prior to the industrial revolution or were not preserved on the sites that South investigated. The expanded Personal group is similar to South's Personal group in the types of artifact classes that it includes, but it differs significantly in that all smoking-related artifacts, which South placed under both his Tobacco Pipe group and his Activities group, have been placed within the expanded Personal group. Also included within the expanded Personal group are cosmetic and medicine bottles, which presumably would have been included within South's Kitchen group, items for personal hygiene, first aid and health items, coins and tokens, and keys. The Activities group for the expanded system is also similar to that used by South, but the types of activities represented within the later artifact collections can be much different and broader in scope than those represented in South's collection. The major difference between South's Activities group and that used for this project is that it was decided that all activities relating to transportation would be subsumed under a separate group, entitled Transportation, for the expanded classification system. With the advent of steam power, railroads, and, later, gas-powered vehicles, the importance of transportation as a determining factor in human behavior had risen to the point that it must be considered as a separate functional group.

Table 40. Expanded Historic Artifacts Classification System.

Subsistence Group

Ceramics--(divided by paste, decorative techniques, and location within the vessel)

Container Glass--(subsistence-related bottles, tumblers and glassware, glass dishes, etc.)

Container Other--(lids of all types, tin cans, paper and plastic food/drink containers, closures, identifiable refuse from the fast food industry, etc.)

Implements/Utensils--(tableware, cutlery, pots, pans, handles, kettles, plastic utensils, etc.)

Food Remains--(butchered bone, fruit pits, corncobs, shell, etc.)

Structural Group

Window Glass--(sorted by color)

Nails--(wrought, cut, wire; function; size)

Construction Hardware--(bolts, nuts, screws, washers, tacks, braces, screen, hooks, staples, hinges, lock parts, etc.)

Building Material--(mortar, bricks, plaster, asbestos, wood, asphalt, linoleum, cement, tar paper, etc.)

Utilities--(drainpipes, fuses, light bulbs, plumbing hardware, insulators, wiring, outlets, etc.)

Furnishings/Appliances Group--(flowerpots and planters, furniture parts, clock parts, appliance parts, tiles, window blinds, etc.)

Weaponry Group--(guns, ammunition, hunting knives, etc.)

Clothing/Adornment Group--(clothing shoe parts, fasteners, jewelry, etc.)

Personal Group--(smoking remains, cosmetic and medicinal containers, coins, and tokens, combs and brushes, keys, eyeglasses, hygiene items, hair curlers, hairpins, first aid items, etc.)

Table 40 (concluded)

Activities Group--(pencils and pens, toys, clothes pins, tools, fishing gear, media artifacts like TV/radio/phonograph parts, etc.)

Transportation Group--(railroad-related artifacts, car and truck parts, horseshoes and harness, boat parts, etc.)

The Miscellaneous category was set up to include material that has no readily discernible function or association with the site other than simply being present. This includes wood fragments, unworked bone, coal, cannel coal, cinder, and clinker. Also, there are always those artifacts that are either too badly fragmented, rusted, or elusive to be identified. These have been placed within the Nonidentifiable category according to their composition (i.e., metal, glass, plastic, paper, etc.).

Of course, there are still problems to be worked out with this system, but they are problems that must be discussed within the broader scope of late nineteenth and twentieth century archaeology. The complexities of dealing with the material remains generated by a relatively industrialized people living over long periods of time within a certain space are just now becoming apparent. The expanded classification system was designed to put into order a large quantity of relatively recent material remains, the likes of which have only rarely been systematically collected before. There is, of course, the well known work on contemporary disposal patterns that has been taking place in Tucson, Arizona, during the last several years (Rathje and McCarthy 1977:261-286), but the classification system for the Tucson "Projet du Garbage" differs significantly from either South's system or this expanded system in that no attempt has been made in Tucson to develop a hierarchical ordering of material remains based on form and function. It is this hierarchical ordering that allows generalizations to be made about human behavior at various levels of analysis.

The following pages will include a discussion of each of the functional groups within the expanded classification system: the types of artifacts included within each group, the methods of analysis, lower-level classification systems, and problems encountered during analysis. The results of the artifactual analysis for the house trenches will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

SUBSISTENCE GROUP

The Subsistence group is defined as being those material remains that are directly associated with food preparation and consumption. It does not include artifacts associated with food procurement. The primary artifact classes within the Subsistence group are ceramics, subsistence-related bottles and glassware, other types of food containers, implements and utensils, and food remains. There are, of course, some problems with determining whether particular artifacts should be classed within this group. For instance, ceramics that are obviously not food-related, such as figurines and dolls, flower pots, drain pipe, insulators, etc., have been placed in more appropriate functional categories. However, the fact remains that when one is dealing with small ceramic fragments, one cannot always determine whether they originated from a container designed for holding food or from a purely decorative item. In cases such as this, sound judgment must prevail in making the decision. Similarly, small pieces of container glass cannot always be identified as being from a food-related artifact, but in the absence of better information, this category must be used. Again, as in the case of ceramics, glass artifacts that can be identified as having a function separate from subsistence should be classed within their respective groups. These include light bulbs and fixtures, cosmetic and perfume bottles, shoe polish bottles, glue jars, etc.

Another problem that is encountered in the assigning of any functional category, and not just within the subsistence group, is the matter of multiple functions. Does one assign function on the basis of the use for which the artifact was originally intended or a perceived use that is different and unique? In several instances, artifacts may be recovered that are actually designed to have more than one function. To resolve these problems during an artifactual analysis, reliance should be placed upon a "best fit" mode of classification. If the persons conducting the analysis were also the persons who had been involved in the fieldwork, then the provenience of the artifact as observed by the fieldworker can be used to make the functional determination.

Ceramics

Ceramics classification in historical archaeology has traditionally been concerned with ceramics manufactured prior to 1850, when ceramic wares technology was changing at such a pace that both technological and stylistic differences could be used to provide a tight ceramics chronology. As a result, ceramics have become an important diagnostic artifact in historical archaeology. The widespread use of South's "Mean Ceramic Dating Formula" (South 1972:71-116, South 1977:201-274) testifies to the importance of ceramics as a temporal indicator. Moreover, ceramics have been used as a status indicator as well (Otto 1977: 91-118).

It appears, however, that ceramic wares technology was one of the first to feel the effects of industrialization and mass production. Even as early as the 1830s, the introduction of those ceramic types

known as "whitewares" and "ironstones" was resulting in an influx into the market of relatively inexpensive ceramics bearing a great deal of similarity to each other. From this period to the present, the ways in which ceramic wares technology has changed are not conducive to purely visual inspection. It is highly probable that techniques such as controlled analysis of paste hardness or thin-section analysis can be used to refine a late nineteenth and twentieth century ceramic wares typology, but in the absence of such techniques, visual inspection of ceramic wares from this period shows very little in the way of observable technological differences.

A more useful approach to the study of nineteenth and twentieth century ceramics is a combination of the traditional ware analysis employed on seventeenth and eighteenth century ceramics with an analysis of the decorative techniques that were used during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. George Miller (1980: 1-40) has developed a process by which the relative values of nineteenth century ceramics can be determined on the basis of decorative technique. By using the ware classification system to provide a general chronological placement for ceramics, and by observing the types of decorative techniques used on ceramics from a particular site to determine both chronology and socioeconomic status, ceramics can still provide a valuable means of understanding human behavior through material culture.

The classification system for the Richard B. Russell ceramics is an adaptation of one that has been used on other historic sites in South Carolina and in Mississippi (Gray n.d.), and is an adaptation of a system first developed by J. Jefferson Miller II and Lyle M. Stone in their analysis of ceramics from Ft. Michilimackinac (Miller and Stone 1970), with modifications based on the system used by George Miller (1980:1-40). Briefly, Miller and Stone developed their classification of eighteenth century ceramics on the basis of an hierarchical arrangement of technical differences. The primary distinguishing factor was the difference in paste type and appearance. Physical and/or stylistic properties were then used to further subdivide the three basic classes (earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain). The final level of analysis was based on style and/or technique of decoration (1970:4). The system that Miller and Stone used and that is being used here, with some adaptations, is characterized by being exhaustive in terms of the ceramics that were identified, by having mutually exclusive classes, and by having a single basis of division between ranks. This system is flexible enough to allow the choice of relevant taxonomic criteria that approximate the historically known situation. The modifications that have been made to this system, based on George Miller's work, deal primarily with the emphasis placed on differences in decorative techniques. More so than on ceramics from seventeenth and eighteenth century sites, differences in decoration on ceramics from later sites play an important part in the determination of socioeconomic status and, to a lesser extent, chronology.

The historic ceramic artifacts from the Richard B. Russell sites were first divided into three primary classes based upon technological differences and historical context: earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain. These three classes were then sorted into various exclusive

groups based upon certain physical and/or stylistic properties. Further subdivisions were finally made on the basis of decorative style and technique. The definitions of these types and the reasons for these divisions are described in more detail in the following paragraphs. Where considered necessary, references have been provided for certain classificatory decisions that were made during this identification. In other instances, references have been deleted when the information presented was considered by the author to be common knowledge within the field of historical archaeology. As in prehistory, historic artifact identification and analysis have reached the point when certain artifact types need not be referenced because their meanings and characteristics have been generally accepted by the profession.

Earthenware

The ceramics included within the earthenware class are characterized by a porous, permeable paste made up of various mixtures of clay and fired at a low temperature.

Coarse Paste Earthenwares: These ceramics have a highly porous, granular paste consistency, tend to be relatively thick, and are generally considered to be highly utilitarian in nature (Noel Hume 1974:99). Because of their widespread occurrence, both temporally and spatially, they are not useful indicators for dating purposes or for the development of trade networks. Their presence within a site, however, can sometimes be used in the analysis of status differences, as has been demonstrated by Otto's (1977) study of dietary and status indicators among planters and slaves at an antebellum plantation site in coastal Georgia. Whether these ceramics can also be used in this method on sites dating to the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries has not been tested.

The coarse earthenwares from Richard B. Russell were divided on the basis of paste color (reflecting the use of various clays), the presence or absence of a glaze (used to provide impermeability), the type of glaze (based on its chemical content), and, finally, the color of the glaze (indicating decorative differences).

Fine Paste Earthenware: The fine earthenwares have a smooth, fine-grained paste consistency and are relatively thinner than the coarse earthenwares. There are several types of fine earthenwares; these have commonly been called creamware, pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, and yellowware. Traditionally, historic ceramics analysis has been concerned with the chronological relationships between these ware types (i.e., creamware is earlier than pearlware, which is earlier than whiteware and ironstone). However, further analysis into nineteenth century ceramics manufacture has revealed that this form of chronological analysis is only applicable when discussing initial dates of manufacture; creamware was indeed first manufactured prior to pearlware, both of which preceded the introduction of whiteware and ironstone. All four of these types, nevertheless, continued in production, to a certain extent, throughout the nineteenth century (Miller 1980:2-3). Thus, a site containing creamware cannot automatically be considered to date before 1820.

One possible technique for controlling the variable of a long time-span for each of these wares is through degree of paste hardness. This trait is controlled within the defined limits of the earthenware category by the chemical content of the paste and the relative temperature at which it is fired. It can be used to a certain extent as a chronological indicator, the soft paste earthenwares generally being earlier than the hard paste earthenwares. Of course, there is some overlap as well (South 1977:211-212; Castille 1979:5-15; Miller 1980:1-40). The hardness was determined by scratching the edges of the sherds with a tempered steel tool. Those sherds classified as soft could be scratched with very little pressure; a dark metallic line and no indentation was left on the sherds classified as hard.

The soft-paste fine earthenwares were subsequently grouped into creamware, pearlware, and whiteware. In this instance, categories were used that had more than one basis of division between classes, but that more accurately followed historical context (Godden 1965; South 1972, 1977; Noel Hume 1974; Miller 1980).

Creamware was first developed during the mid-eighteenth century and was manufactured until the late nineteenth century (Miller 1980:3). It is characterized by a buff-colored paste and a clear lead glaze exhibiting a yellow or green tint in the crevices. Creamwares vary from a rich buff color to a light cream, with the latter generally dating after 1775 (South 1977:212). When it was first produced, creamware dominated the English ceramics market and competed with porcelain as a high-status ware. However, as the use of other fine paste earthenwares became more common in the nineteenth century, creamware was largely relegated to the position of an utilitarian ware, where it remained relatively consistently throughout the nineteenth century. When it was considered a high-status ware during the eighteenth century, some decorative techniques, usually molding or edge decoration, were used on creamware, but by 1820, creamware was almost always undecorated (Miller 1980:3). Judging from the literature, creamware continued to be a soft-paste earthenware at least through 1820. Whether the late nineteenth century creamwares continued to retain a soft paste consistency is not known at this time. Therefore, for the purposes of this classification, all creamwares have been subsumed under the soft paste category.

In 1779 Josiah Wedgwood introduced a new, whiter version of the standard creamware body; this he termed "Pearl White" (Godden 1965:xxi). Pearlware differed from the earlier creamware in that cobalt was added to the lead glaze to produce the whiter appearance (Noel Hume 1974:128). Initially, the paste color was buff, although by the early 1800s, it had been modified to an almost pure white (Sussman 1977:105-106). Pearlware can be differentiated from creamware by a bluish cast to the glaze. The blue color is especially pronounced in the crevices around footings and rims. Manufacture of the soft paste pearlwares apparently continued until approximately 1830 (Sussman 1977:110), although a hard paste counterpart of pearlware continued in production well into the twentieth century, as will be discussed shortly.

Whiteware is distinguished from the creamwares and pearlwares by a pure white soft paste and a totally transparent lead glaze. There is no

indication of color in the crevices. Whiteware was first manufactured in 1820 and continued in production until well after 1900 (South 1977: 211; Miller 1980:2).

The hard paste earthenwares from Richard B. Russell were grouped into two categories: ironstone and yellowware. Ironstone is used here as a generic term for those durable earthenware ceramics that exhibit a hard compact paste with either a white or bluish-gray tint, and a clear or cobalt-tinted lead glaze. "Ironstone" is also used as one of the brand names for this type of earthenware, others being "New Stone," "Turner's Patent," and "Stone China" (Godden 1965:xxiii). Ironstone was first manufactured in 1813 and is still being produced today (South 1977:211). Throughout the history of ironstone production, two types have been simultaneously manufactured: one a clear-glazed white ware and another that has been given a bluish tint through the addition of cobalt to either the paste or the glaze. George Miller (1980:3, 15-18) has discussed the problem of placing the classification of these two types of ironstone, as well as pearlware and whiteware, into an historical context. Apparently, the term "pearl," which was initially coined to describe the soft paste earthenware with the bluish tint that followed creamware in the late eighteenth century, was used by nineteenth century manufacturers and consumers alike to describe both soft paste and hard paste ceramics, as well as both white and blue-tinted wares. Thus, the division of these wares into separate categories may be an artificial one according to historical implications. However, archaeologically these divisions still apparently hold some utility for determining chronology.

Yellowware is a name that has been given to those ceramics possessing a durable, compact yellow body and a clear lead glaze. This type of earthenware is rarely referenced as a separate category in the published literature, generally being subsumed under the category of annular wares. This practice has occurred because the most common form of decoration on this largely utilitarian ware consists of concentric blue bands and white ridges (Noel Hume 1974:131). However, if one is classifying ceramics in terms of an hierarchical arrangement, as is the case here, it is apparent that yellowware should be separated into its own category on the basis of its hard, compact paste composition. Noel Hume (1974:131) states that this type of ceramic was first developed around 1800 and is still being produced today. A sixth type of fine paste earthenware, refined redware, is characterized by a compact, finely grained red paste that is either left unglazed or is glazed with opaque colors. Two examples of this ceramic type were found at the Harper site. Plate 13, top, shows these two redware fragments as well as other artifacts collected during the investigations.

Another technique for analyzing the various types of fine paste earthenwares, especially creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone, is through decorative techniques. According to George Miller (1980), socioeconomic status and, to a lesser extent, chronological placement can be determined through this analysis of decorative techniques. In brief, Miller has demonstrated that, prior to 1850, there were four levels of value to which earthenwares could be assigned according to decoration (1980:3-4). The first level, or the level of lowest value,

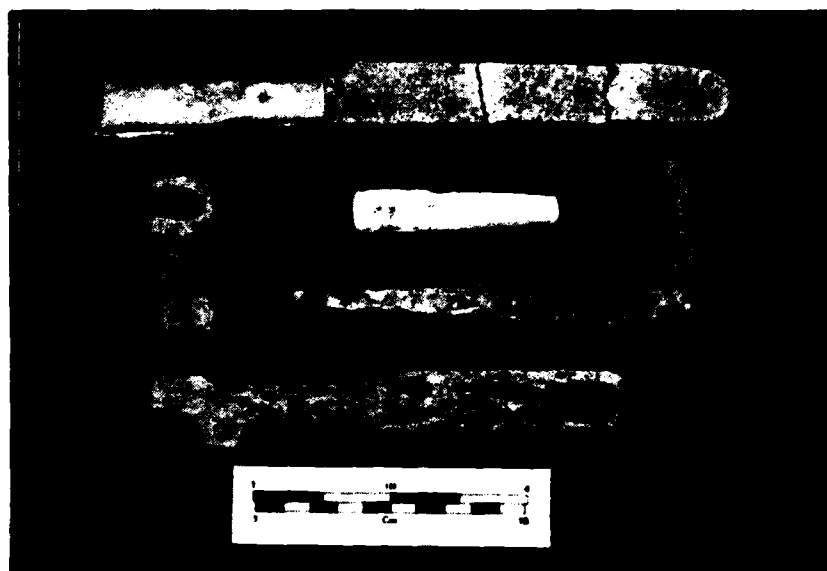
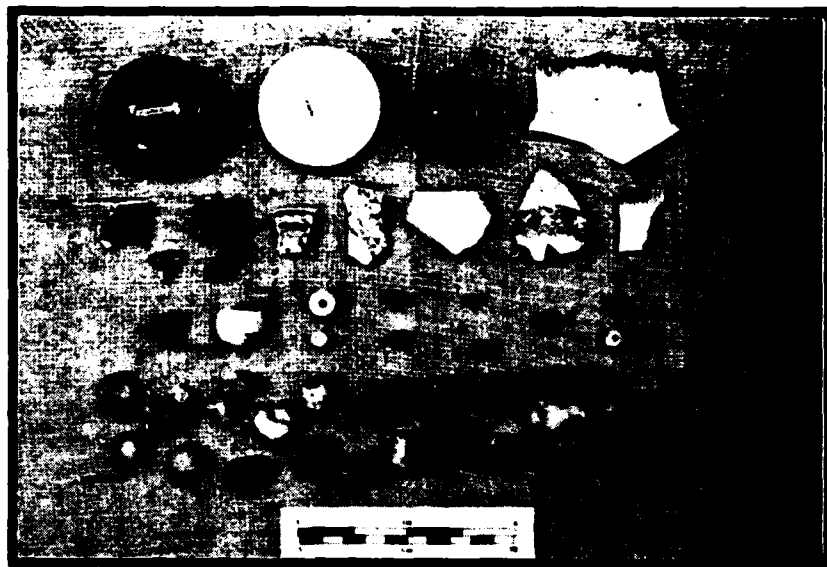


Plate 13. Top: Doorknobs, Ceramics, Beads, Buttons, and Marbles from the Three Historic Sites. Bottom: Knife, Knife Handle, Key, Pintle, and Cookstove Lid Handle from the Harper and McCalla Sites.

was undecorated creamware, or "CC wares." The second level of value was placed on those earthenwares that possessed minimal decoration applied by relatively unskilled workers. These forms of decoration included edge decoration (the most common of which is shell edge), sponge decoration, banded, mocha, and trailed slip (see Plate 13, top). These were the least expensive ceramics available with decoration. Level 3 was made up of hand-painted wares where some skill was required in duplicating decorations for matched sets. There appears to have been no difference in value between monochrome and polychrome decorations. Finally, the fourth level consisted of transfer printed wares. These were the most expensive form of fine earthenware available on the market. Again, no difference in price appears to have been made on the basis of color, but ceramics with the "willow" pattern were consistently the least expensive of the transfer printed wares, and ceramics with a flow printed pattern were the most expensive (see Plate 13, top).

After 1850, these levels of value remained relatively the same; however, there were a few changes in popularity of certain types (Miller 1980:4). Primarily, the introduction of undecorated white or bluish-tinted ironstones in the 1850s signalled the development of a new trend in ceramics popularity. These ceramics, even though they were totally without decoration, rivalled the transfer printed wares in terms of cost. Concurrently, the amount of transfer printed ware that was produced after 1850 dropped considerably. Another change was that edge-decorated wares were very rarely found after the 1860s. Thus, by combining an analysis of paste and glaze characteristics with an analysis based on decorative techniques, it is possible to determine both chronological placement and socioeconomic status of nineteenth century sites on the basis of ceramics, especially the fine paste earthenwares.

Stoneware

Characteristic of ceramics within this class is a compact, finely grained non-porous opaque body that has been fired at a higher temperature (1300°C) than have the earthenwares (Godden 1965:xii). Since stonewares, by their very nature, are impermeable, the use of various glazes on stonewares is considered more of a decorative technique than utilitarian in nature.

The stonewares within the Richard B. Russell collection were divided first on the basis of paste color (denoting the use of various clays and/or firing techniques). Further subdivisions were based upon the presence/absence of surface treatment, type of surface treatment, and color of surface treatment or decoration. For the most part, nineteenth century stonewares are not conducive to an analysis of either chronology or socioeconomic status, being primarily utilitarian wares found nearly everywhere.

Porcelain

Porcelain is a highly vitrified ceramic distinguished by a translucent body. It is further divided into two groups according to paste hardness. Hard paste porcelain, first manufactured in China and later in England, continental Europe, and the United States, consists of a

mixture of kaolin and feldspar (petunse), shows a conchoidal fracture, and is only fired once, both body and glaze, at an extremely high temperature (1400°C+) (Godden 1965:xvii; Noel Hume 1974:258). Soft paste English and American porcelain is manufactured from a mixture of ground glass and white clay, sometimes with feldspar or bone ash added. When chipped, the body is granular. It is first fired in an unglazed state (bisque firing), then re-fired at a lower temperature after glazing (Godden 1965:xvii). The hard paste porcelain is generally considered to be of a higher quality than soft paste porcelain and, hence, more expensive. Therefore, it, too, can be used as a status indicator.

Container Glass

In terms of providing a tighter chronology for the Richard B. Russell sites based on artifactual analysis, container glass has proven to be as valuable as ceramics. Unlike ceramics technology, which has generally been involved in a reduction of the range of types produced since the early nineteenth century, the technology of manufacturing glass bottles and other containers has expanded to include a much wider variety of types during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Dessamae Lorrain (1968:43) has pointed out:

"The dateable changes in nineteenth century glass involve manufacturing techniques. It therefore behooves archaeologists to learn the distinguishing characteristics of the products of these techniques so they can be identified and dated when encountered in the course of the excavation. The description of glass pieces in a site report should include the manufacturing process and the criteria used to determine it."

There are several characteristics of glass bottles that, when combined, can elucidate the manufacturing techniques that were used during their production. These characteristics also allow glass artifacts to be grouped together within an hierarchical classification system. The most easily observable characteristic is that of color, which has been used here as the primary distinguishing characteristic, and is a function of the materials used within glass production. The color of glass containers is generally not a good indicator of temporal range, although certain colors can be dated fairly accurately.

Traditionally, bottle glass has been tinted in shades of blues or greens. These colors, except for royal blue (such as is found in milk of magnesia bottles), and a bright emerald green (like that of 7-Up bottles), cannot be dated because of their long existence. When glass containers became popular for food storage as well as the storing of beverages in the early nineteenth century, it was considered desirable to develop clear glass containers that provided a sense of purity of the contents. The first attempts at this were accomplished by adding small amounts of manganese to the glass mixture. When this glass was exposed to the ultraviolet rays of the sun, however, it took on a slightly purple tint. Amethyst glass can be dated fairly tightly on the basis of color alone to between 1810 and 1917. While manganese was in short supply during World War I, selenium was used to tint glass bottles.

This coloring agent turned glass an amber color, and was most commonly manufactured from 1914 to 1930. Arsenic, as a neutralizing agent for obtaining truly clear glass, first was used around 1880 and became prevalent around 1930, replacing manganese and selenium permanently. It is still the primary neutralizing agent in use today (Munsey 1970). The other most common glass color during the twentieth century is brown, which was first produced in 1873 (Ayres, personal communication).

The next level of classification for glass containers is the manufacturing techniques that were used. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the two most common techniques have been the use of various kinds of molds and automated bottling machines. Blown glass containers, most common prior to 1800, are still manufactured, but the emphasis now is upon mass-produced glassware. During the Richard B. Russell investigations, almost no blown glass was found. This is to be expected since all of the sites investigated date to the early nineteenth century or after, when mold-produced bottles became common.

On the other hand, the Richard B. Russell artifact collection includes many types of mold-produced bottle glass. Shoulder-height dip molds, an ancient technique that was finally abandoned around 1880, are characterized by no vertical seams, but a horizontal seam is visible around the shoulder (Ayres, personal communication). The 2-piece bottom hinge mold, with a seam running across the base of the bottle, was used in the period between 1810 and 1880. The 3-piece dip mold dated to between 1870 and 1910, and is identified by a mold seam around the shoulder and two vertical seams on either side of the neck (Munsey 1970). Finally, the turn paste mold, characterized by vertical mold seams, horizontal striations on the body, and sometimes the presence of a pontil mark, dated to between 1880 and 1920 (Newman 1970:72).

In 1891, the semi-automatic bottling machine was introduced. Bottles made by this method are identified by seams to within $\frac{1}{4}$ inch of the rim and necks ground to a smooth finish. The semi-automatic bottling machine was used to 1920, although it was superseded in 1903 by the introduction of the fully automatic bottling machine. This method, which is still in use today, produces bottles that are characterized by vertical seams to the very top of the bottle and an irregular circular seam on the base (Munsey 1970).

Finally, the various types of techniques used to produce bottle rims can also be used in identification and dating. The sheared lip, characterized by a plain cylindrical top, dated to between 1810 and 1840. This was superseded by a laid-on ring rim, that was used until 1913. The other most common rim technique during the nineteenth century was the applied lip, created by the use of the lipping tool. This technique dated from 1850 to 1913, and was phased out by the widespread use of the automated bottling machine.

Other Containers

This category has been used to include all other types of artifacts that are used in the storage of food. These include bottle closures, metal cans and pull tabs, plastic wrappers and closures, and paper

products. Most of this material is of recent deposition, although several categories within this group date to the nineteenth century. Among the latter are included several types of bottle closures. In 1855, Robert Arthur introduced the tin lid for canning jars. This consisted of an inverted tin disk sealed with melted glass. In 1858, the Mason jar was patented, along with its threaded zinc lid. However, the lid was not widely used until 1868, when the milk glass lid liner was invented. This is still being used today with a rubber seal. The lightning stopper for canning jars was most commonly used between 1875 and 1915. This closure consisted of a glass lid held in place against a rubber seal by a wire bail and lever. The crown closure, a crimped metal lid over a rounded lip, was first introduced in 1892. It is also still being used today, most commonly on soft drink and beer bottles (Lorrain 1968; Munsey 1970; Newman 1973; Paul and Parmalee 1973).

This category can also include artifacts representing an involvement with the fast food industry, although none were found during the Richard B. Russell investigations. The fast food industry, which actually began in the 1930s with the founding of the A&W chain, has played a profound role in the changing of modern American dietary habits. Created out of a mass desire for ready-to-eat foods in an increasingly faster-paced world, the fast food industry is characterized either by totally biodegradable paper containers or by totally non-biodegradable styrofoam containers.

Implements/Utensils

Artifacts included within this category include tableware (whether it is sterling silver, stainless steel, or plastic), cooking utensils (pans, kettles, etc.), can and bottle openers, drinking straws and swizzle sticks, and miscellaneous other utensils used in the preparation and consumption of food. Plate 13, bottom, shows a complete bone-handled knife, another bone handle, and a cookstove lid handle.

Food Remains

By far the major constituent within this group has been butchered bone, although fruit pits, shells, and seeds were also recovered. Analysis of these remains can provide invaluable information on the dietary habits of the sites' occupants through time.

STRUCTURAL GROUP

The Structural group is defined as being those artifacts that are directly associated with the built environment, although it does not include those material remains that were used to enhance the built environment. These have been subsumed within the Furnishings/Appliances group. The primary artifact classes within the Structural group are window glass, nails (wire, cut, wrought, or unknown nail type), building material, hardware, and utilities-related artifacts. On the whole, this functional group does not include many ambiguities in terms of assigning functions to particular artifacts.

Window Glass

Possibly the only ambiguity involved in the Structural group is the assigning of function to small fragments of flat glass. Flat glass is primarily used in three different ways: as windows, as mirrors, or as glass table tops or shelves. Within the expanded classification system, hand-held mirrors or mirror fragments, if identifiable, have been assigned to the Personal group, while wall-mounted mirrors and glass tops or shelves have been subsumed within the Furnishings/Appliances group. Mirror glass and plate glass can generally be separated from window glass on the basis of thickness, the window glass being thinner than the other two. For this reason, all of the flat glass from the Richard B. Russell investigation was measured for thickness: glass that measured less than 3 mm thick was assigned to the Window Glass category, while glass over 3 mm thick was assigned to the Furnishings/Appliances group. Also useful in the identification of mirror fragments was the presence of the reflective backing, although one cannot assume that all mirror fragments still retain their backing. While this method of flat glass identification is not infallible, it does provide a consistent system for the assigning of function to flat glass fragments.

Once assigned to the Window Glass category, the flat glass fragments were also divided on the basis of color. In some cases, color identification can aid in assigning a particular function, such as would be the case for stained glass, smoked glass, or frosted glass.

Nails

Nails can be divided into three discrete types, based on technological differences and historical context: wrought nails, machine-cut nails, and wire-drawn nails. Although wrought nails are still manufactured today for restoration purposes, their use as a primary fastener in construction ended around the 1830s; their primary period of use was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Nelson 1963). Wrought nails are made individually. They are characterized by a taper on all four sides, a hammered head, and a hammered point. They are further subdivided by length and function. The majority of the wrought nails discovered during the Richard B. Russell investigations were classified as common, finish, or flooring nails.

The first machine-cut nails were manufactured as early as 1790, although they did not replace wrought nails until the 1820s (Nelson 1963). Initially, machine-cut nails were headed by hand, but by 1815, the technology had improved to the extent that nails were machine-headed as well. Machine-cut nails characteristically possess two tapered sides and two straight sides. They have a square or blunt point, and a variety of head types can be found. They are subdivided by length and type of head, which indicate a functional difference. The primary functional types are common and finish nails.

In the 1850s, the United States was introduced to wire-drawn nails, which had been developed previously in Europe. The earliest wire nails were used in box construction and were not perfected for building construction until the 1870s. It was not until 1890 that wire nails

replaced cut nails as the primary type of construction fastener, and even then cut nails continued to be preferred for certain types of construction well into the twentieth century (Nelson 1963). These nails, which are still the most common type of fastener, are manufactured from steel wire. They are cylindrical, with a constant diameter, and have a sharp point. They are also subdivided on the basis of length (indicating pennyweight) and type of head (indicating function). Again, the major types of wire nails found during these investigations were common and finish nails, as well as roofing nails.

In the analysis of the nails from the Richard B. Russell investigations, they were first divided on the basis of manufacturing technique, and then subdivided on the basis of function and length. If the manufacturing technique could be discerned, but function was not readily apparent, the nails were listed as corroded. If they were broken, but the technique was discernible, they were listed as such. If the manufacturing technique could not be identified because of heavy rust or corrosion, the nails were listed under unknown type.

Building Material

The Building Material category includes those material remains that make up the mass of a structure or a construction project. The more common types of building materials are mortar, bricks and brick fragments, plaster, cement and concrete, wood, asbestos, tar paper, asphalt, and linoleum.

Hardware

The types of artifacts included within the Hardware category are diverse, but all are characterized by being metal objects (other than nails) that are used in construction. The most common types of hardware found at Richard B. Russell include nuts and bolts, screws, washers, tacks, spikes, hinges, latches, and hooks. A pintle was recovered from Structure 7 at the McCalla I site (Plate 13, bottom).

Utilities

With the advent of indoor plumbing, the use of gas, and, later, electricity in the twentieth century, a new artifactual category was created. The artifacts associated with utilities range from plumbing fixtures (ceramic pipe, metal pipe fragments and fittings, or a drain plate) through artifacts associated with heating (flues, gas outlets) to electrical equipment (fuses, light bulbs, sockets and receptacles, wire, and insulators).

FURNISHINGS/APPLIANCES GROUP

As stated earlier, artifacts not directly used in building construction, but still associated with the enhancement of the built environment, have been included within the Furnishings/Appliances group. These artifacts include flower pots and planters, light fixtures and lamp

shades, plate glass and mirror glass, paint, furniture and appliance parts, figurines, door knobs and handles (see Plate 13, top), and others.

WEAPONRY GROUP

The Weaponry group includes primarily a variety of shells and cartridges of different calibers. Other artifacts included in this class, however, include guns and gun parts, knives, and military objects.

CLOTHING/ADORNMENT GROUP

The artifacts included within this functional group are beads and jewelry; buttons, snaps, buckles, grommets, eyelets, zippers, and safety pins; shoe parts; and fragments of clothing. Within this category, synthetic materials were used as a dating tool for the twentieth century sites. In particular, it was noted on the analysis sheets if rayon (invented in 1910), nylon (introduced in 1938), or polyester (first used in 1941) was present at a site. Plate 13, top, shows a number of the beads, some of them jet, and buttons recovered from the Harper house trench.

PERSONAL GROUP

As stated earlier, the Personal group includes those artifacts that are directly associated with an individual or with individual use. Smoking-related artifacts, such as pipes, cigarette packs and filters, cigar tips, and match books or lighters, are included within this group. Health, hygiene, and first aid items include eye droppers, syringes, medicine bottles, and pill boxes. Other artifacts that can be identified as belonging to the Personal group are charms, hand mirrors, cosmetic and perfume bottles, combs, hairpins, tokens, coins, and keys (see Plate 13, bottom).

ACTIVITIES GROUP

The artifacts included within the Activities group primarily fall into three categories: entertainment, stationery equipment, and tools and maintenance supplies. The entertainment category includes toys (see Plate 13, top); musical instruments; radio-, phonograph-, and television-related artifacts; Christmas ornaments; and newspapers. Stationery-related artifacts can include writing equipment, paper clips, glue jars, etc. Tools and maintenance supplies include agricultural equipment, blacksmith equipment, other tools, and painting equipment.

TRANSPORTATION GROUP

Because of the importance of transportation in the twentieth century, it is only fitting that artifacts associated with transportation be afforded a separate functional group. The primary types of transportation-related artifacts recovered during the investigation were automobile parts.

THE ANALYSIS

The premise upon which this analysis is based is that broad cultural trends can be observed through the quantification of archaeological data. During the past decade, historical archaeologists have become increasingly aware of the importance of quantifying their data, and subsequently using those data to develop statements about behavioral variability. This has been most often accomplished through the use of frequency variation studies, such as the ones that have been conducted here. As Stanley South has stated, "The key to understanding culture process lies in pattern recognition" (1977:31). Sometimes, however, these patterning studies have been used without regard to the historical context of the site. It is proposed here that without understanding the context in which a site was created, pattern analysis cannot serve as an interpretative technique, except in the most obvious of examples. The excavation at the three house sites will be used to illustrate this point.

In these analyses, the percentages of artifacts included within each functional group have been computed for each unit of the house trenches at the Clinkscapes, Harper, and McCalla I sites. The results have then been compared between house trenches to determine if broader generalizations can be made about the deposition of cultural material at the house sites in the Richard B. Russell project area. On the basis of these comparisons, it has been possible to make several generalizations about the cultural processes that have acted in the creation of the archaeological record. It should be cautioned, however, that the Richard B. Russell sample is relatively small, and that further comparisons should be made to verify the observations made here.

CLINKSCALES HOUSE TRENCH

The trench excavation at the Clinkscapes site, as shown on Figure 32, was located across the southeastern half of the house. According to Mr. Henry A. Cook, who has provided plans for both the first and second floors of the house as they looked in the early twentieth century, the house trench crossed what would have been the parlor, part of the hall, and part of a bedroom on the first floor (Figure 39). Above these rooms, on the second floor, were located two additional bedrooms (Figure 40). Test Units 3 and 4 were probably located in the area of the front porch, Units 5 through 11 in the area of the parlor and the front

Clinkscates House Plan - First floor
(Old Home Place)

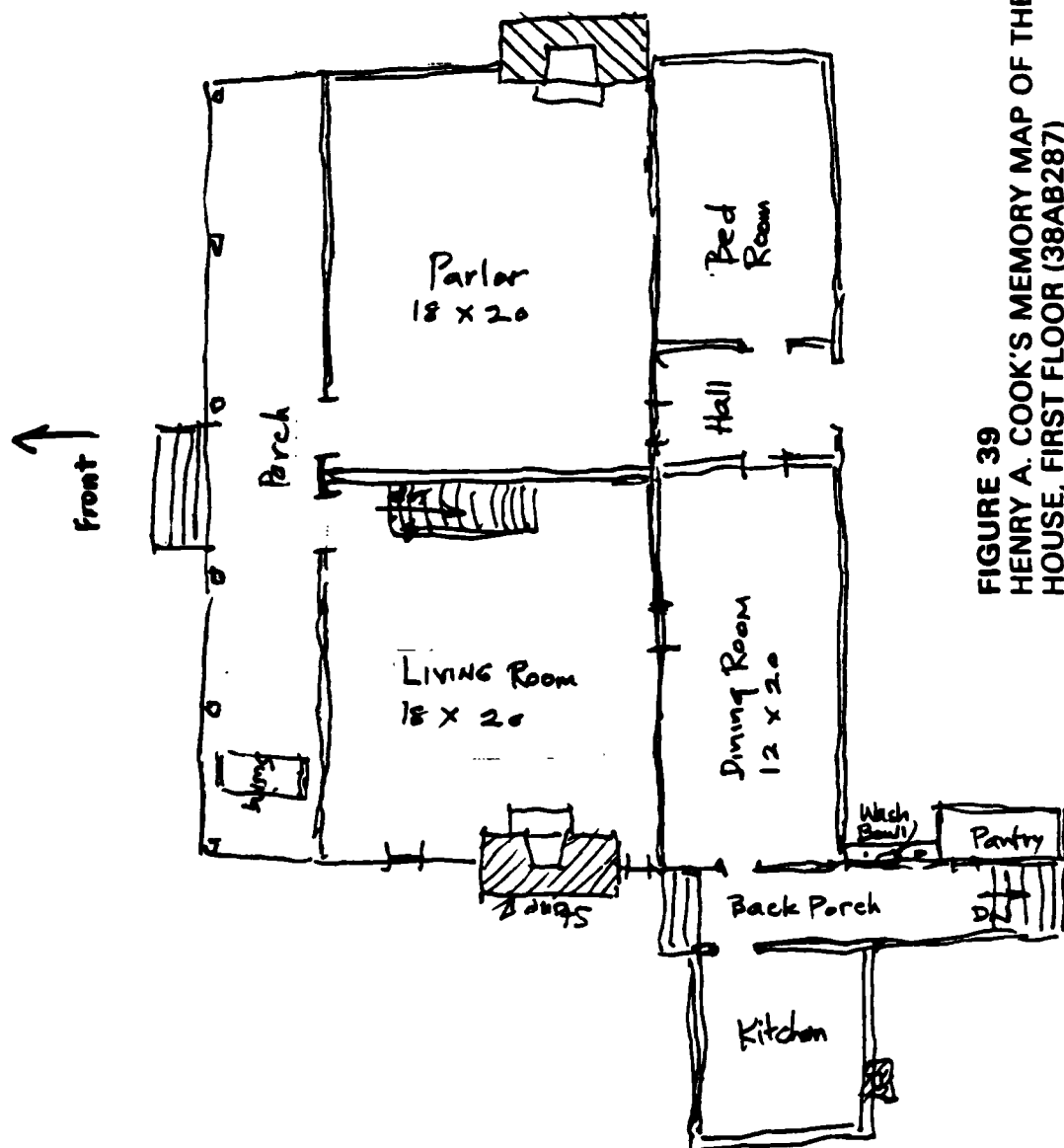


FIGURE 39
HENRY A. COOK'S MEMORY MAP OF THE CLINKSCALES'
HOUSE, FIRST FLOOR (38AB287)

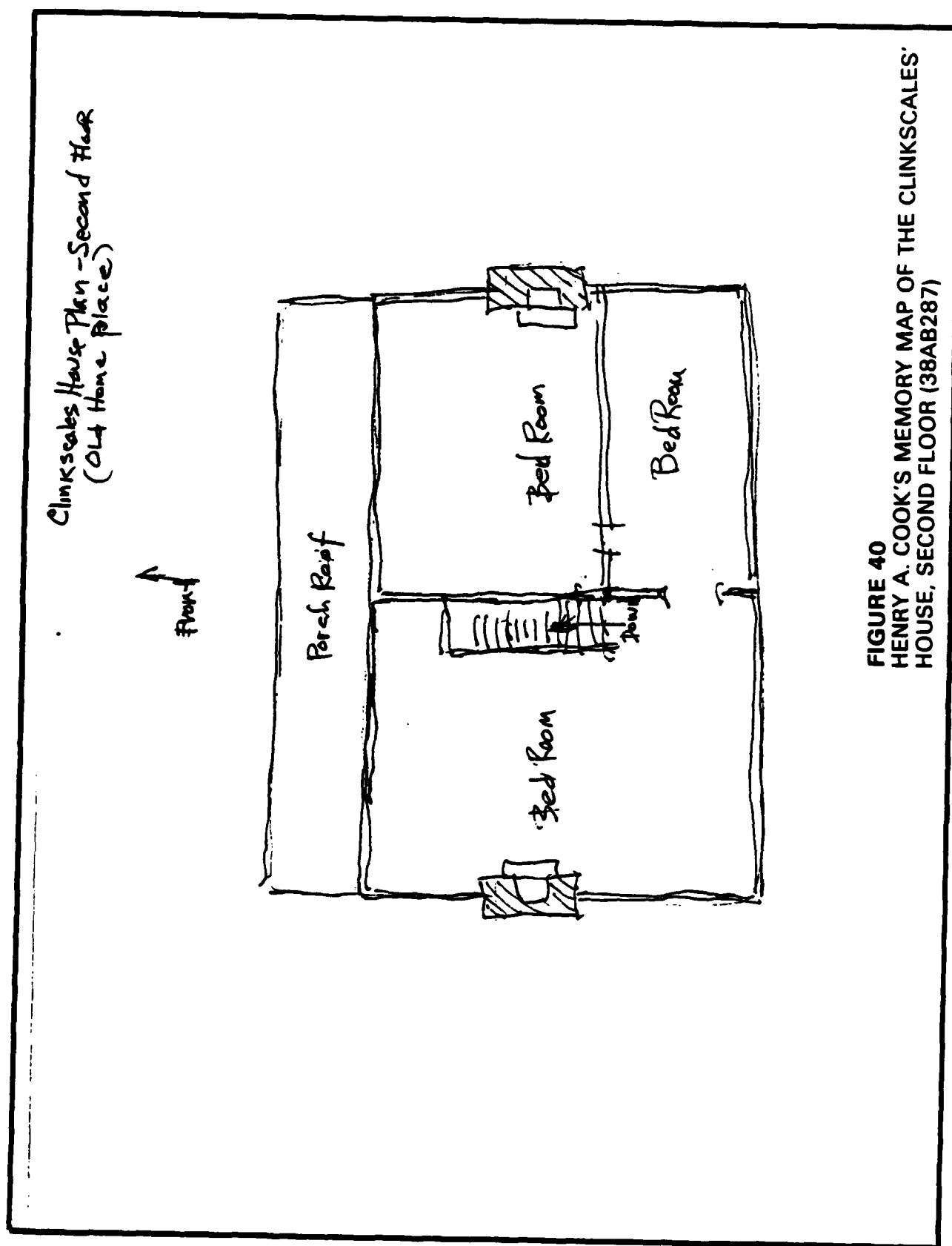


FIGURE 40
HENRY A. COOK'S MEMORY MAP OF THE CLINKSCALES'
HOUSE, SECOND FLOOR (38AB287)

upstairs bedroom, and Units 12 through 15 under the wall separating the hall and bedroom on the first floor and the back upstairs bedroom.

Table 41 shows the results of the artifact analysis for the Clink-scales trench. The total number of artifacts within each functional group and class was tabulated for each unit. Then, percentages of occurrence were determined for each class and group within each unit. Thus, the relationships between the various functional groups can be observed as they change across the site.

It becomes immediately clear upon examination of the table that the majority of the artifacts collected belong to the Structural group. The percentages of structurally-related artifacts range from 68% to 99.46%, with an average of 88.56%. As would be expected, the highest percentage for the Structural group is in Unit 3, the front porch area, where the only competition was one piece of ceramic. When one further examines the figures for the Structural group, several interesting conclusions can be drawn. Even though the presence of concrete block piers would lead one to believe that the front porch had been added or rebuilt during the twentieth century, the ratio of cut to drawn nails in Units 3 and 4 would make one believe that the porch may have been original with only subsequent repair work. The ratio of cut to drawn nails varies from unit to unit for the remainder of the trench, and it appears that the house underwent somewhat regular repair work throughout its history.

An analysis of the types of nails used on a per-unit basis reveals that common nails, the majority of which were drawn wire, were generally the most used throughout the trench. There are three exceptions, however. In Units 3, 5, and 11, finish nails were found to outnumber common nails. This can probably be explained by the locations of these three units: Unit 3 was situated under the front porch; Unit 5 is probably the front wall of the house; and Unit 11 appears to have been the location of the wall separating the parlor from the hall/bedroom on the first floor, and the two bedrooms on the second floor. In all three of these locations, finishing nails would have been more heavily used than in the centers of rooms. Units 13, 14, and 15 had a higher percentage of finish nails than did the units in what would have been the center of the parlor, but the greatest percentage of nails in these units was still common nails. These units are located where the wall separating the hall from the downstairs bedroom would have been. Practically all of the finish nails were cut. The remainder of the nails recovered from the Clink-scales trench were primarily drawn-wire roofing nails. Their percentages on a per-unit basis consistently ranged between 11 and 28 percent.

Looking at the Subsistence group, no real patterns can be observed in the distribution of the artifacts. The percentages are generally low, which would correspond well with the fact that the trench did not cross any rooms directly associated with subsistence activities. The highest percentages of subsistence-related artifacts were found in Units 14 and 15, at the back of the house. It can be conjectured that, when the semi-attached kitchen was torn down and a modern kitchen was installed in the house, this area may have been converted for use as a pantry or a dining room. Nevertheless, it would appear that the storage

Table 41. Clinkers Trench Analysis Results.

	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10	Unit 11	Unit 12	Unit 13	Unit 14	Unit 15
	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %
SUBSTANCE	1 .54	38 11.31	10 5.05	14 4.42	8 2.45	2 .59	0 0	16 3.49	1 .56	4 1.39	50 19.69	72 32.00	69 26.24
Ceramics	1 .54	9 2.68	0 0	1 .32	0 0	0 00	0 0	1 .22	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 .38
Container Glass	0 0	24 7.14	10 5.05	11 3.47	0 0	2 .59	0 0	15 3.27	1 .56	3 1.04	50 19.69	72 32.00	68 28.86
Container Other	0 0	4 1.19	0 0	2 .63	8 2.45	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
Implements/Utensils	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
Food Remains	0 0	1 .30	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
STRUCTURAL	183 99.46	298 88.69	188 94.95	303 95.58	319 97.55	332 98.81	274 85.89	358 78.00	172 97.17	283 98.61	204 80.31	153 68.00	194 73.76
Masonry	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
Wrought Nails	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
Cut Nails	119 64.67	165 49.11	136 68.69	148 46.69	150 45.87	134 39.88	148 46.40	169 36.82	126 71.19	159 55.40	82 32.28	56 24.90	79 30.04
Drawn Nails	53 28.81	105 31.25	48 24.24	133 41.96	143 43.73	174 51.79	116 36.36	180 39.21	35 19.77	103 35.89	97 38.19	91 40.44	95 36.12
Unknown Nails	3 1.63	0 0	1 .51	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 .31	0 0	0 0	0 0	3 1.18	0 0	0 0
Window Glass	1 .54	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 .30	1 .31	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 .39	0 0	0 0
Hardware	0 0	1 .30	1 .50	1 .31	3 .92	1 .30	.89	6 1.31	3 1.69	6 2.09	1 .39	1 .44	0 0
Utilities	2 1.09	5 1.49	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 .59	0 0	1 .22	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
Building Material	5 2.72	22 6.54	2 1.01	21 6.62	23 7.03	18 5.36	0 0	2 .44	8 4.52	15 5.23	20 7.88	5 2.22	20 7.60
FURNITURE/APPLIANCES	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
WEAPONRY	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	4 .87	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
CLOTHING/ADORNMENT	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	6 1.88	21 4.57	2 1.13	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
PERSONAL	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 .60	3 .94	11 2.40	1 .57	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
ACTIVITIES	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	36 11.29	49 10.67	1 .57	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
TRANSPORTATION	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
TOTAL	184 100	336 100	198 100	317 100	327 100	336 100	314 100	459 100	177 100	287 100	254 100	225 100	263 100
MISCELLANEOUS	3 x	5 x	6 x	11 x	15 x	4 x	9 x	15 x	5 x	7 x	10 x	3 x	1 x
NONIDENTIFIABLE	18 x	188 x	270 x	223 x	17 x	16 x	58 x	81 x	39 x	56 x	19 x	40 x	52 x
TOTAL	205 x	529 x	474 x	551 x	359 x	356 x	386 x	555 x	220 x	350 x	283 x	268 x	316 x

of ceramics was not undertaken anywhere along the length of the trench. Only 13 fragments of ceramics were recovered during the trench excavations. These included several types, undecorated ironstone and edge-decorated wares being the most common. The majority of the artifacts included in the Subsistence group were fragments of container glass, the most common colors being clear, brown, and royal blue. Other subsistence-related artifacts that were recovered during the excavations were primarily other types of containers, although one butchered bone was found in Unit 12 and one seed in Unit 4. Eight tin can fragments were discovered in Unit 7, two metal jar lid fragments in Unit 6, and four tin can fragments in Unit 4.

The only other identifiable artifacts that were recovered during the Clinkscales house trench excavations were clustered in Units 8 through 11. Apparently, either a closet or a bureau was located somewhere in this area at the time of the fire. Artifacts were recovered from the Weaponry group (four shells and bullets), the Clothing/Adornment group (buttons, zippers, a snap, buckles, and a ribbon clasp for a shoulder strap), the Personal group (a key and a penny), and the Activities group (85 burned marbles were found along with three notebook rings, chalk, and a mechanical pencil part). The only incongruous artifact in the collection was a fragment of a bandsaw blade, found in Unit 11.

HARPER HOUSE TRENCH

The trench excavation at the Harper house was placed between the two facing standing chimneys, slightly off-center to the north (Figure 35). According to a house plan drawn by Gaines Morrow (Figure 41), the trench would have crossed the sitting room and both the front and back porches. The Harper house was unusual in that it had a recessed porch on both the front and rear facades. Plate 14, top, shows the front of the house as it appeared sometime prior to the fire, and Plate 14, bottom, is a closeup of the back porch. The upstairs rooms over the trench would have been bedrooms. In all probability, Units 14, 15, and 16 would have been under the front porch, Units 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, and 18 are in the location of the sitting room, and Units 19, 20, and 21 under the back porch. Units 17 and 22 were located outside the dripline of the house.

The results of the artifact analysis for the Harper house trench excavations are shown in Table 42. The first thing that is apparent upon examination of the table is, again, the high percentage of structurally related artifacts recovered from throughout the trench. These percentages range from 72.64% to 100%, with an average of 93.75%. The majority of the artifacts making up the Structural group were nails: wrought, cut, and drawn. Wrought nails were found throughout the trench, but they only exceeded cut nails in number in Units 19, 18, and 14, or where the walls separating the sitting room from the two porches would have been. In all other units, cut nails dominated the collection. Drawn nails were found consistently throughout the trench.

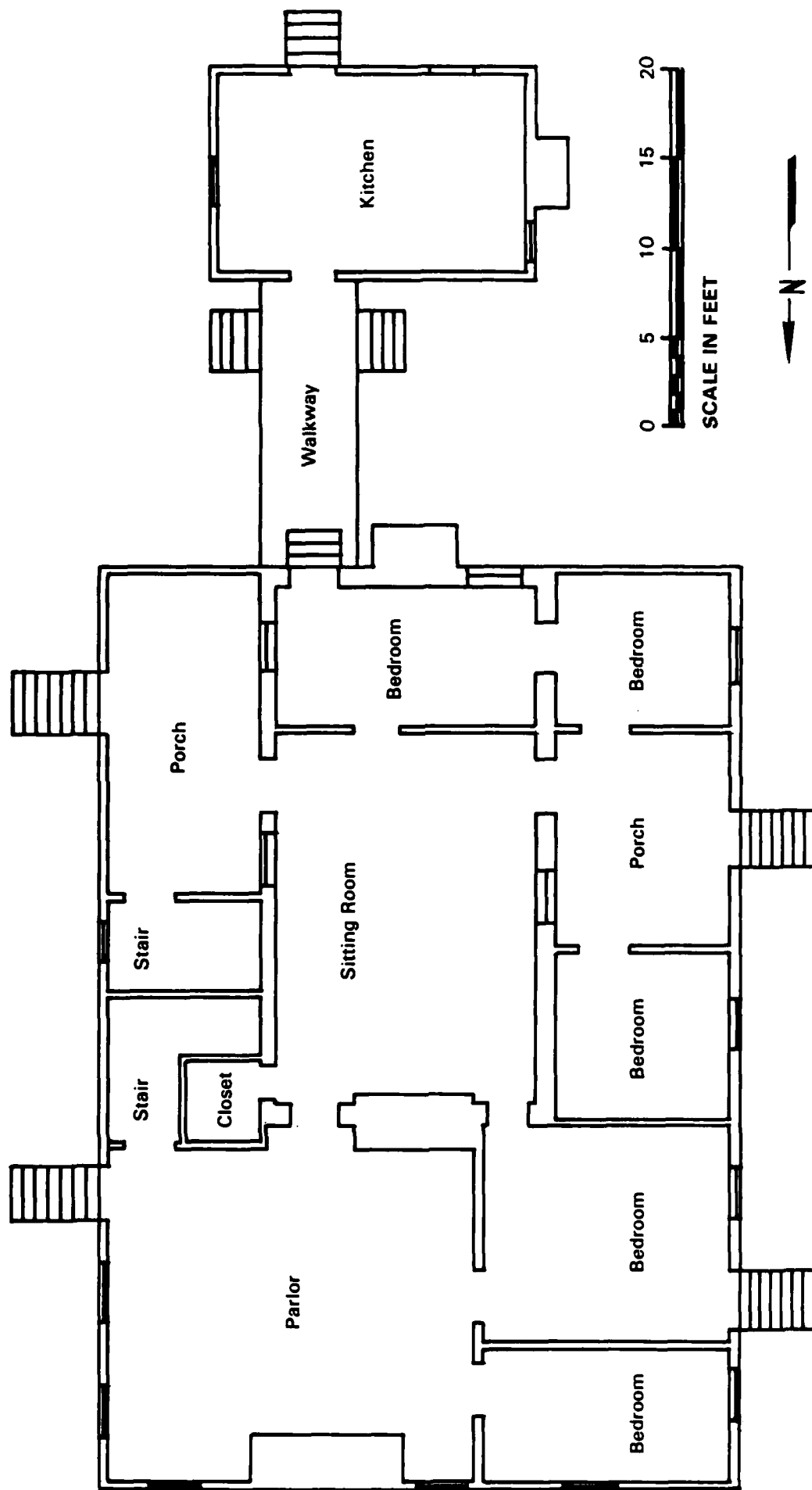


FIGURE 41
 HARPER (38AB21) HOUSE PLAN
 BASED ON A SKETCH BY GAINES MORROW
 SOURCE: HABS n.d.



PLATE 14. Top: Harper (38AB21) House, Front View Looking West (Courtesy of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District). Bottom: Closeup of Back Porch, Harper (38AB21) House (Courtesy of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District).

Table 42. Harper Trench Analysis Results.

	Unit 22	Unit 21	Unit 20	Unit 19	Unit 18	Unit 9	Unit 10	Unit 11	Unit 12	Unit 13	Unit 14	Unit 15	Unit 16	Unit 17								
	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#								
SUBSISTENCE	6	3.87	0	0	0	7	4.35	5	2.66	0	0	2	1.33	54	25.47	2	2.13	0	0	4	3.58	
Ceramics	1	.64	0	0	0	1	.62	1	.53	0	0	0	0	3	1.42	0	0	0	0	1	.89	
Container Glass	4	2.58	0	0	0	4	2.49	4	2.13	0	0	0	0	48	22.64	2	2.13	0	0	1	.90	
Container Other	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Implements/Utensils	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Food Remains	1	.65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1.41	0	0	0	0	2	1.79	
STRUCTURAL	149	96.13	100	98.04	93	98.94	148	91.92	180	95.75	69	100	155	100	147	98.00	92	97.87	84	98.82	101	90.17
Wrought Nails	24	15.48	14	13.73	17	18.09	32	42.11	31	16.49	17	24.64	39	25.16	49	32.67	20	21.28	18	21.18	7	6.25
Cut Nails	55	35.48	37	36.27	33	35.11	29	38.16	36	23.38	42	26.09	101	53.72	75	50.00	58	27.36	48	51.06	42	49.40
Drawn Nails	48	30.97	34	33.33	29	30.85	7	9.21	23	14.93	8	11.59	33	21.29	18	12.00	19	8.96	23	24.47	18	21.18
Unknown Nails	9	5.81	0	0	0	1	1.06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Window Glass	8	5.16	0	0	0	1	.65	1	.62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	3.77	0	0	26	23.21
Hardware	3	1.94	12	11.77	9	9.57	2	2.63	9	5.84	10	6.20	2	1.06	2	.95	2	.95	0	0	0	0
Utilities	0	0	0	0	0	1	.65	1	.62	15	7.99	0	1	.65	1	.67	0	0	1	1.18	0	0
Building Material	2	1.29	3	2.94	4	4.26	6	7.89	2	1.06	2	2.90	29	18.71	3	2.00	8	3.77	1	1.06	5	5.88
FURNITURE/APPLIANCES	0	0	0	0	2	1.30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WEAPONS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	4.46	
CLOTHING/ADORNMENT	0	0	0	0	6	3.90	5	3.11	2	1.06	0	0	0	1	.67	4	1.89	0	0	1	1.18	
PERSONAL	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.62	1	.53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
ACTIVITIES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
TRANSPORTATION	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
TOTAL	155	100	102	100	94	100	76	100	154	100	161	100	188	100	150	100	212	100	94	100	85	100
MISCELLANEOUS	12	x	4	x	7	x	15	x	10	x	5	x	1	x	2	x	11	x	11	x	20	x
UNIDENTIFIABLE	16	x	9	x	10	x	35	x	34	x	48	x	38	x	15	x	369	x	102	x	13	x
TOTAL	183	x	115	x	111	x	126	x	198	x	214	x	227	x	206	x	596	x	207	x	118	x

Common nails were definitely the most observed type of nail during the analysis, accounting for at least half of the nails in each unit. Units 19, 18, 13, and 14 had concurrently the lowest percentages of common nails and the highest percentages of finish nails. This can again be attributed to the presence of walls between the sitting room and the porches, requiring a larger percentage of finish nails. The majority of the finishing nails were also wrought nails, indicating that they were probably an integral part of the initial construction of the house.

Other types of structurally-related artifacts that were recovered from the Harper house excavations included window glass, hardware, utilities-related artifacts, and building material. The building material, most of which consisted of brick fragments or mortar, was collected consistently throughout the trench. The window glass, however, was found only in Units 22, 18, 9, 14, and 17. Only 44 pieces were found in total, but it appears that they were recovered near areas where windows would have been. A hinge, perhaps from the back door or a window, was recovered from Unit 9.

Very little subsistence-related material was recovered from the Harper house trench excavations, and again, the majority of this was container glass fragments. The possibility exists that many of these artifacts were deposited by way of being swept into cracks, although many appear to have also been burned. The only units to contain subsistence-related material were Units 22, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, and 17. Unit 14 contained by far the most subsistence-related artifacts (54 out of 80).

The distribution of other types of artifacts did not fall into any particular patterns, as did those at the Clinkscale house. A clothes hook and a buckle were found in Unit 21, another clothes hook and six beads in Unit 18, and several beads and buttons were also found in Units 9 and 10. Additional clothing-related artifacts were discovered in Units 13 and 14, and gun shell parts made up the majority of the non-subsistence and non-structural artifacts recovered from Unit 17. In summary, the Harper house trench excavations revealed a high preponderance of structurally-related artifacts with correspondingly low percentages of other types of artifacts. The most plausible explanation for this frequency distribution is that the trench was excavated in an area where subsistence-related artifacts and personal artifacts would not have been common because of the functions of the rooms in the area that was excavated.

McCALLA I HOUSE TRENCH

The information available for the McCalla I house in terms of its layout or the amount of salvage that has taken place at the site is not nearly as complete as for the other two sites. Therefore, as stated earlier in the chapter, the interpretation of the results of the McCalla I artifact analysis must be viewed with caution. According to informants, the McCalla I house was a large one-story structure, basically

square in shape, with a central hallway flanked by two rooms on either side. It is not known what the original configuration of the rooms would have been, although it might be surmised that one of the rooms in the western half of the house would have been used as a dining room since the kitchen was located on the west side of the house. If this floor plan is correct, then the trench was excavated across the two rear rooms and the central hallway (see Figure 37). Units 0 through 3 would probably have been located in the area of the northwest room (possibly the dining room), Units 4, 5, and half of 6 in the hallway area, and the remainder of Unit 6 through Unit 11 in what would have been the location of the northeast room. Unit 12 was apparently located outside the dripline of the house.

Table 43 shows the results of the artifact analysis for the McCalla I house trench. Contrary to the results for the Harper and Clinkscales trenches, the percentages of structurally-related artifacts were significantly lower for the McCalla I excavations, although the total percentage for the Structural group was still somewhat higher than the percentage for the Subsistence group. The unit percentages of structurally-related artifacts ranged from 23.38% to 85.11%, with an average of 54.17%. Subsistence group percentages, on the other hand, ranged from 12.76% to 76.62%, with an average of 41.60%. Only in Units 9, 10, and 12 did Subsistence group artifacts outnumber Structural group artifacts. Oddly enough, this is on the opposite side of the house from the presumed remains of the kitchen. However, it may be possible that the designation of Structure 2 as the kitchen is erroneous, especially considering the fact that the well is also located on the opposite side of the house from the proposed kitchen. It may be possible that the site has been subject to some salvage as well, but this cannot be verified.

An interesting observation is in the comparison of numbers of artifacts on a per-unit basis. The number of artifacts recovered from each unit was generally fairly low, with one significant exception. In Unit 12, which was apparently located outside the dripline on the east side, a total of 300 artifacts was recovered (the next highest total was 93 in Unit 1). Of the 300 artifacts from Unit 12, 171 are Subsistence group artifacts, 122 belong to the Structural group, and 7 make up the remainder of the functional groups. If this had been a trash disposal area, as might be hypothesized, then it would be difficult to explain the presence of such a large number of structurally-related artifacts, the majority of which are nails, unless structural material was also disposed of in this location. This would then indicate some degree of site disturbance and/or salvage after the collapse of the house. An examination of the artifacts recovered from this unit reveals that none show evidence of burning. Furthermore, the majority of the artifacts are of relatively recent vintage (late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries): undecorated ironstone, clear and brown bottle glass, a plastic comb, and wire nails. An interesting object recovered from this unit is the handle used to lift cast iron cookstove lids (see Plate 13, bottom). This may be further evidence that a kitchen was located in this corner of the house during some time in its history. Another puzzling factor that enters into the functional analysis of these percentages is the distribution of bottle glass to ceramics. While bottle glass fragments

Table 43. McCalla I Trench Analysis Results.

	Unit 0	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10	Unit 11	Unit 12													
	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#													
SUBSISTENCE	29	41.43	24	25.81	6	12.76	20	24.09	13	16.67	5	27.78	4	36.36	13	28.89	22	34.38	59	76.62	16	69.57	2	14.29	171	57.00
Ceramics	27	38.57	17	18.28	3	6.38	11	13.25	3	3.85	1	5.56	0	0	1	2.22	3	4.69	1	1.30	1	4.35	0	0	9	3.00
Container Glass	2	2.86	7	7.53	3	6.38	9	10.84	7	8.98	4	22.22	2	2.27	11	24.45	17	26.57	58	75.32	15	65.22	2	14.29	161	53.67
Container Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2.56	0	0	1	9.09	1	2.22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Implements/Utensils	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Food Remains	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
STRUCTURAL	41	58.57	68	73.12	40	85.11	62	74.70	45	57.69	13	72.22	7	63.64	32	71.11	41	64.06	18	23.38	7	30.43	4	28.57	122	40.67
Wrought Nails	2	2.86	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cut Nails	24	34.29	39	41.93	24	51.07	48	57.83	33	42.31	8	46.44	0	0	18	40.00	19	29.69	5	6.49	3	13.04	2	14.29	44	14.67
Drawn Nails	0	0	0	0	3	6.38	0	0	1	1.28	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.56	0	1.30	0	0	0	0	44	14.67
Unknown Nails	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Window Glass	10	14.28	24	25.81	12	25.53	8	9.64	9	11.54	1	5.56	1	9.09	13	28.89	18	28.13	12	15.59	3	13.04	0	0	26	8.67
Hardware	2	2.86	2	2.15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.56	0	0	1	4.35	0	0	3	1.00
Utilities	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Building Material	3	4.28	3	3.23	1	2.13	5	6.02	2	2.56	4	22.22	6	54.55	1	2.22	1	1.56	0	0	0	0	2	14.28	5	1.66
FURNITURE/APPLIANCES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WEAPONRY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.33
CLOTHING/ADORNMENT	0	0	1	1.07	0	0	0	0	20	25.64	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.56	0	0	0	0	8	57.14	2	.67
PERSONAL	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1.00
ACTIVITIES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.33
TRANSPORTATION	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	70	100	93	100	47	100	83	100	78	100	18	100	11	100	45	100	64	100	77	100	23	100	14	100	300	100
MISCELLANEOUS	2	x	0	x	0	x	2	x	2	x	2	x	0	x	2	x	1	x	0	x	1	x	1	x	0	x
UNIDENTIFIABLE	25	x	39	x	1	x	40	x	13	x	4	x	1	x	7	x	12	x	1	x	1	x	0	x	27	x
TOTAL	97	x	132	x	48	x	125	x	93	x	24	x	12	x	54	x	77	x	78	x	25	x	15	x	327	x

outnumber ceramics in Units 4 through 12, the far greatest number of ceramics occurs in Units 0 through 3, nearest to Structure 2, the proposed kitchen, and in the possible location of the dining room. It appears more and more that there may have been more than one location for the kitchen throughout the history of the McCalla I house. This is not so odd when one observes that the same phenomenon also occurred at the Harper and Clinkscates houses.

The majority of the nails recovered from the trench excavations were cut. In fact, only three wrought nails were identified, and of the 50 drawn nails that were recovered, 44 were located in Unit 12. Almost all of the nails are common; only six finish nails, both wrought and cut, were recovered. These produced no identifiable pattern other than perhaps being located where walls might have been found (Units 0, 3, and 7). Another indication that the site has suffered from post-depositional disturbance is the fact that window glass was found throughout the trench. Finally, artifacts relating to other functional groups were scattered throughout the trench in no recognizable fashion. The 20 artifacts belonging to the Clothing/Adornment group in Unit 4 were all shoe parts. Again, the greatest variety in terms of different functional groups was found in Unit 12. Overall, it appears that the McCalla I house may have been subject to several construction and/or alteration episodes, and that some post-depositional disturbance has taken place at the site. However, without corroborative data, these are only conjectures.

EVALUATING THE ANALYSIS

As discussed earlier, a major part of this project was designed to test the utility of artifact patterning studies on historic sites. Since new "patterns" seem to be created with every archaeological research report that one reads, it was believed that an objective test of the validity of this approach was necessary and long overdue. It cannot be guaranteed that the results of this analysis constitute a final test; the sample is probably too small and the available information on the sites is not nearly as complete as one would like. However, there are several conclusions that can be drawn from these analysis results that directly pertain to the utility of artifact patterning studies.

First and foremost is the obvious conclusion that the use of historical and ethnographic context greatly aids in the understanding of artifact patterns found at excavated sites. A case in point is the relative ease by which the trenches at the Clinkscates and Harper sites were analyzed as opposed to the difficulty in making definite statements about the patterns observed at the McCalla I site. Archaeologists have traditionally placed great reliance on artifact patterns; indeed, in prehistory archaeological evidence is the only kind that is available. Yet, what are the limits beyond which the search for patterns becomes pure conjecture? When one finds over 400 bedsprings in one section of the trench as was the case at the Sproull-Harrison house, or if a concentration of clothing and personal artifacts is discovered such as occurred at the Clinkscates site, then one's interpretation that a

bedroom or a closet had originally been in that location is sufficiently credible in and of itself. The same holds true if one finds an extraordinarily high number of straight pins in what turns out to be a tailor's shop (South 1977:65-77), or if an extremely high amount of Colono-Ware continues to be associated with eighteenth century slave sites (Drucker 1981:58-68; Garrow et al. n.d.).

But what if one is comparing ratios between functional groups to determine differences in ethnicity, status, or type of site? Much has been written about various types of patterns based on ratios between functional groups. The Carolina Artifact Pattern and the Frontier Artifact Pattern (South 1977:83-164), the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern (Garrow et al. n.d.), and Wise's Public Structure Pattern (see Garrow et al. n.d.) are but a few examples of patterns that have been developed on the basis of relationships primarily between subsistence-related artifacts and architectural artifacts. Yet what is being compared in these ratios is simply the number of domestic artifacts versus the number of architectural artifacts, and these numbers can be derived in several different ways.

First of all, there is the whole question of artifact counts versus vessel counts, which is especially relevant when dealing with artifacts that can be easily broken, such as ceramics and glass. However, studies have shown that indeed both artifact counts (South 1977:201-274) and vessel counts (Garrow et al. 1979:95-114) have validity in frequency distribution studies. Another problem is consistency in classifying artifacts within functional groups. Already it has been seen in this report that the classification system differs from South's because of the expanded range of artifacts available from the twentieth century, as well as stemming from the author's own biases. Still, the two systems are roughly similar in the types of artifacts included within functional groups.

Another, more serious, problem is that of the ultimate origin of the artifacts. The primary difference, for instance, between South's Carolina Artifact Pattern and his Frontier Artifact Pattern is that the former has a higher percentage of domestic artifacts to architectural artifacts, and the latter has the reverse situation. Furthermore, the Public Structure Pattern defined by Wise (see Garrow et al. n.d.) is based on a markedly higher percentage of architectural artifacts to domestic artifacts. So where does this put the Richard B. Russell sites? All three house sites have ratios that favor the Structural group over the Subsistence group, yet none of them can be called a frontier site or a public structure. The Sproull-Harrison house, which was used as a control for the RBR excavations and analysis, also had a much higher structural to subsistence ratio. The Structural group at Sproull-Harrison ranged from around 66% to 98%, with an average of about 90%. Moreover, when the same type of analysis was conducted on two urban twentieth century sites in East St. Louis, a black transient community (Kerr Island) and a mixed ethnic company town (National City), still different kinds of ratios were derived, depending upon where the tests were located in relationship to buildings (Williams et al. 1982:382-388). Table 44 shows the comparison of ratios for the various patterns and sites discussed here.

Table 44. Comparison of Ratios between Structural Artifacts and Subsistence Artifacts for Various Patterns and Sites.

	<u>Subsistence</u>	<u>Structural</u>
Carolina Artifact Pattern	63.10%	25.50%
Frontier Artifact Pattern	27.60%	52.00%
Sproull-Harrison House	3.39%	90.27%
Clinkscates House	7.74%	88.56%
Harper House	4.43%	93.75%
McCalla I House	41.60%	54.17%
Kerr Island - Front Yard	41.31%	55.82%
Side Yard	26.23%	71.10%
Back Yard	69.94%	25.94%
Within House	77.35%	21.23%
National City - Front Yard	45.84%	48.63%
Side Yard	49.56%	47.82%
Back Yard	62.41%	27.02%
Non-Residential	46.46%	52.08%

It appears, ultimately, that several factors are involved in the production of the numbers of artifacts used in frequency variation studies. These factors, moreover, stem both from the historical development of a particular site and the archaeological approach to investigating the site. In terms of the historical development of a site, the factors are: 1) what was the function of the site (house, barn, fort, tavern?), 2) how was the building constructed (brick, log, frame?), 3) was the building occupied or being used at the time that it was destroyed?, 4) who lived at the site?, 5) did salvage or vandalism take place?, 6) how long has it been since the site was created (this will undoubtedly have an effect on the disintegration rates of certain artifacts), and 7) how much post-depositional disturbance has occurred?

When one examines the archaeological approach to the functional analysis of a site, several other factors can be identified. These include: 1) how much of the site is being excavated, 2) where in the site are the excavations taking place, 3) how are artifacts being classified in terms of their function, and 4) are artifact counts or vessel counts being used? The last two factors have already been discussed in a limited fashion, but the first two bear further examination. Stanley South (1977:299-308) has argued for total site excavation whenever possible; however, in most cases, it is unfeasible in terms of cost and time to excavate an entire site. Therefore, most archaeologists resort to some form of test excavations. If a person can indeed excavate an entire site, then it can be argued that the controls on the development of a functional analysis based on artifact percentages are much tighter and more easily maintained from an archaeological standpoint. However, if a person is excavating only a portion of a site, this is, in effect,

a sampling procedure that may be subject to sampling error. The extent to which a site is excavated, and the placement of the excavations can, to a certain extent, influence the final percentages of artifacts that are used in the functional analysis. For instance, neither of the trenches at the Harper and Clinkscales sites crossed a kitchen area, and the low percentages of subsistence-related artifacts presumably reflect that fact. However, this may not be altogether a valid argument against the use of sampling versus whole-site excavation since the trench at the Sproull-Harrison house did cross a portion of the kitchen, but this does not seem to have significantly affected the outcome of the analysis. The percentage of subsistence-related artifacts was still quite low for the entire site.

In summary, it seems clear that for artifact patterning studies to continue as a valid analytical approach in historical archaeology, these factors must be controlled as tightly as possible. It does not seem possible at this time that these percentages and ratios can have any predictive or explanatory value in and of themselves. In other words, to interpret that a site of unknown historical context is a colonial British-American domestic site because its domestic to architectural artifact ratio falls within the range of the Carolina Artifact Pattern is ignoring both historical and archaeological context. There are any number of reasons why an artifactual assemblage may have a certain ratio between percentages of functional groups within it, and the archaeologist analyzing such an assemblage must be aware of these factors before an interpretation based on frequency variation studies can be considered valid.

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1850

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APPENDIX A

Prehistoric Components at 38AB287,
38AB21, and 38AB78

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PREHISTORIC COMPONENTS AT 38AB287,
38AB21, AND 38AB78

During the course of the historic investigations at the Clinkscates (38AB287), Harper (38AB21), and McCalla I (38AB78) sites, three prehistoric components were also identified, one at each site. Since the primary focus of the investigations was on the historic components at these sites and the project constraints did not allow for extended analysis above and beyond what was proposed for the historic components, little was done with the prehistoric materials that were recovered. However, it is believed that the information should be made available for others who are interested in pursuing the topic of prehistoric occupation at these sites.

The prehistory of the Richard B. Russell Multiple Resource Area has been afforded much investigation during recent years. The intensive survey report (Taylor and Smith 1978) for the project provides a detailed summary of the prehistoric development of the upper Savannah River. In addition, numerous other reports on specific aspects of prehistoric occupation in the area are currently in the process of being prepared. These should be referred to by persons interested in placing these three prehistoric components into a regional context.

38AB287

Prehistoric cultural material was recovered during excavations in the main house trench at the Clinkscates site and during the controlled surface collection. No diagnostic material was identified, however. Plate 15, top row, shows three biface fragments that were found at this site. The material from the house trench came from both Levels 1 and 2, although the majority of the material was recovered from Level 2.

Prehistoric artifacts were also found in several features (F. 3, 14, 16, 17, 20, and 24). However, except for Features 3, 20, and 24, historic material was recovered from the features as well. Feature 3 bottomed out in Level 2 and was probably a shallow disturbance. Features 20 and 24 are more problematical. After Level 2 was removed from the trench, several features were discovered intruding into subsoil. Features 18, 20, 22, and 24 were all irregularly-shaped shallow depressions. Features 19, 21, 23, 25, and 26, however, were shallow, circular areas of silty loam (see Figure 33, Level 2 removed). In the field, these features were identified as probable root molds. Closer analysis reveals that they may have been prehistoric features of some sort, possibly even postholes associated with a structure. It is impossible to verify this conjecture, however, without further excavation at the house site. Excavation of Unit 16, in the front yard of the house, also revealed prehistoric material, some of which was located in Feature 4 along with historic artifacts. Table 45 gives the numbers, types, and locations of prehistoric material recovered from the Clinkscates house excavations. It is interesting to note that Units 9 through 14, where the possible prehistoric features were located, is also the area where heavy concentrations of prehistoric material were found.

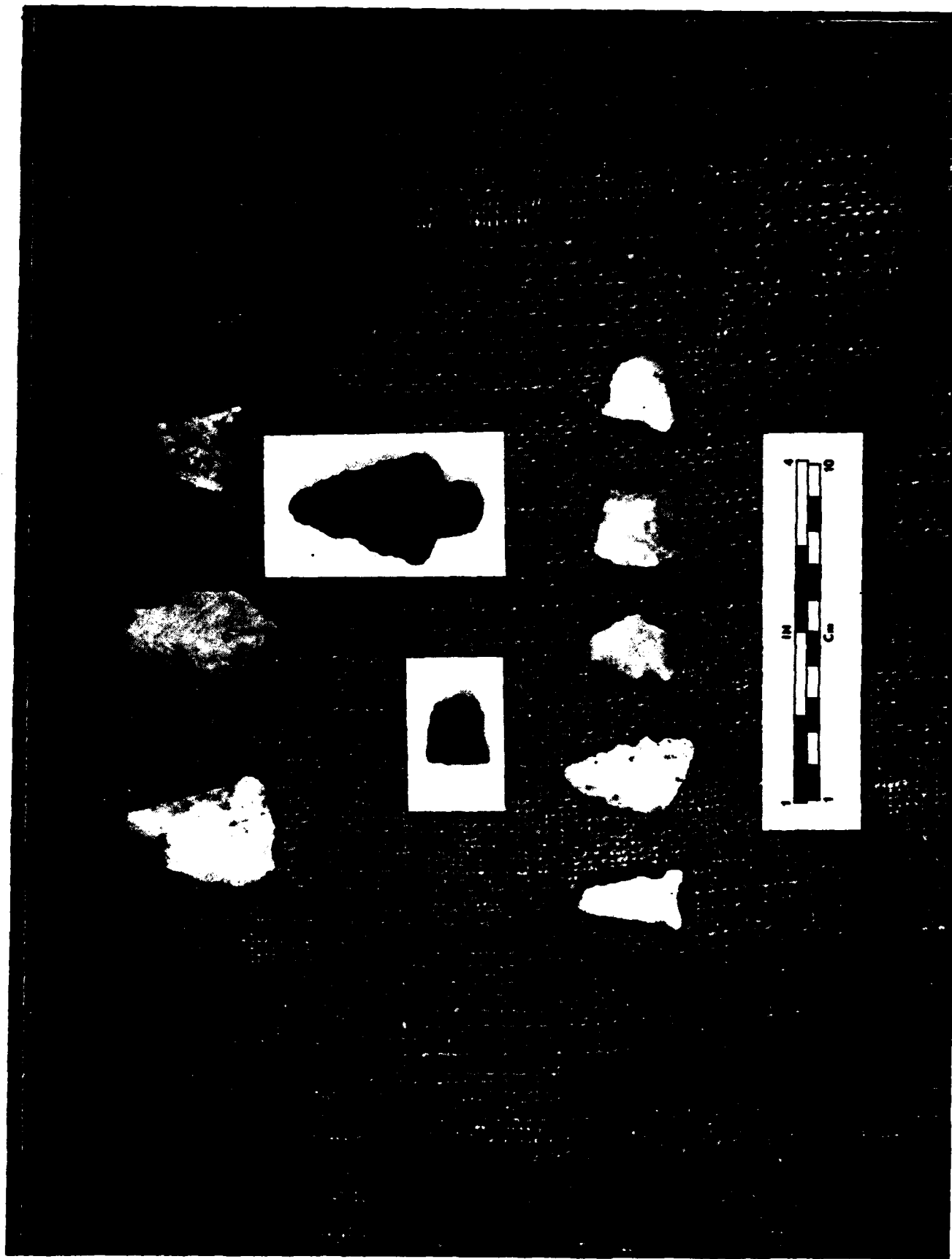


Plate 15. Prehistoric Artifacts from the Clinkscales Site (Top Row), and the Harper Site (Middle and Bottom Rows).

Table 45. Prehistoric Artifacts Recovered from the Clinkscales House Excavations.

	Units															Features						
	3	4	5	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	15	16	3	4	14	16	17	20	24			
Quartz biface fragments		1					2		1										1			
Quartz bifacial thinning flakes	6	14	2	1	5	38	26	18	11	8	10	15	2	6			1	1				
Chert bifacial thinning flakes							1										1					
Quartz decortification flakes	1																					
Quartz retouch flakes													1									
Worked chert flakes																						
Quartz angular shatter				1			9		5	1	2	15	1	2								
Fire-cracked rock		10					5												1			

* = heat treated

During the controlled surface collections, scattered prehistoric material was found in two separate locations: 1) in the three collection units surrounding Structure 4, and 2) in the two collection units between the main house and Structure 3 (see Figure 12). In both instances, the recovered material was relatively sparse. In all, four quartz angular shatter, four quartz bifacial thinning flakes, and one quartz biface mid-section were recovered during the surface collections.

38AB21

The Harper site has a much more extensive and diagnostic prehistoric component than does the Clinkscales site. Prehistoric artifacts were recovered from the house trench; from excavations at Structures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7; and in the controlled surface collections. Diagnostic artifacts were recovered from the house trench, Structure 3, Structure 5, and the collection unit at 50 N, 0 E.

Prehistoric artifacts were recovered from throughout the trench excavations at the Harper house. They occurred in all levels, although the majority were located in Level 3. In Level 2 of Feature 10 was discovered one piece of undecorated, grit-tempered ceramic (Plate 15, middle row, left). This was the only piece of prehistoric ceramics found during the investigations. The other diagnostic artifact from the house trench was a small Savannah River point made of argillite (Plate 15, middle row, right). On the basis of these two artifacts, it appears that there was an Early Woodland site at this location. However, no features or midden that could be directly associated with a prehistoric occupation were found. Artifacts recovered from the Harper house excavations are listed in Table 46.

At Structure 3 was found a Kirk point with the base missing (Plate 15, bottom, second from left), and a possible Hardaway projectile point base (Plate 15, bottom, far right). The latter has an incurvate base, with U-shaped auricles and shallow notches, and possibly alternate bevelling on the blade. Two partial Palmer points were also found: one at Structure 5 (Plate 15, bottom, middle) and one in the surface collection at 50 N, 0 E (Plate 15, bottom, far left). Finally, the base of a possible Morrow Mountain I point was found at Structure 4 (Plate 15, bottom, second from right). The presence of these artifacts indicates that this site was apparently occupied during the Early and Middle Archaic periods, as well as later during the Early Woodland, as was observed in the house excavations. None of these diagnostic artifacts, however, was recovered from a feature or midden area. Besides the diagnostics, other artifacts were also collected from the outlying structures and the surface collection units; these are listed in Table 47. It is interesting to note that argillite and chert were only found in the house excavations. This may represent a very possible sampling bias or the fact that people at this site during the Early and Middle Archaic were using only local material. With as small a sample, however, this is only conjecture.

Table 46. Prehistoric Artifacts from the Harper House Trench.

	Units															Features		
	22	21	20	19	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	10	11	13	15	
Grit-tempered ceramic														1				
Projectile point	1																	
Quartz biface fragments			1															
Bifacial thinning flakes																		
quartz	1	4	10	5	2	3	4	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1			
chert	1		1	1			1				1*							
argillite									1							1		
Worked quartz flakes											1							
Quartz decortification flakes	1			1														
Angular shatter quartz	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1		1		3	2	1		
chert	1							1*								1		
argillite																	1	
Fire-cracked rock (quartz)		2	2					3	1							4	2	

* = heat treated

Table 47. Prehistoric Artifacts from Outlying Structures and Surface Collection Units at 38AB21.

	Structures							ON OE	50N 50E	ON 50E	100E 100E	50N 100E	50N 150E	ON 200E	50N 200E	ON 300E	ON 400E	ON 450E	200N 550E
	3	4	5	6	7														
Projectile points and fragments	2	1	1				1												
Quartz biface frag- ments	1															1			
Quartz bifacial thinning flakes	1			5	10			1	1	2					2	1	1		
Quartz decortifi- cation flakes																		1	
Quartz retouched flake							1												
Quartz angular shatter						1	1			1			1	1		2			2
Quartz fire- cracked rock					24														

A very small prehistoric component was found at the McCalla I site. This included no diagnostics. Prehistoric artifacts were recovered primarily from Level 1 in the house trench excavations, as well as in shovel tests at three of the outbuildings. All of the material was quartz, except for three fragments of mica found in the house excavations. Artifacts recovered from the trench included 4 bifacial thinning flakes; 3 angular shatter, one with a retouched edge; 1 decortification flake; and 17 pieces of quartz. At Structure 3 was recovered one bifacial thinning flake and two pieces of quartz; at Structure 5, three flakes; and at Structure 7, one flake. Overall, the prehistoric component at the McCalla I site appears to have been small and has been subject to some disturbance.

Conclusions

The excavations at the Harper, Clinkscales, and McCalla I sites all revealed the presence of a prehistoric component. It appears that the components at the McCalla I site and in the outlying areas of the Harper site have been disturbed through erosion, farming, and logging activities. The components at the Harper and Clinkscales house sites, however, appear to have been less disturbed, as evidenced by the recovery of prehistoric artifacts and possible features from intact soil deposits within the boundaries of the two house sites. Of course, the construction and subsequent destruction of the houses may have created some disturbance to the prehistoric components, but at least there are still intact soil deposits associated with the prehistoric artifacts. This association is rare in most upland situations in the South where erosion has destroyed most, if not all, of the original soil deposits. This brings up an interesting point about erosion and the potential for locating intact sites. It has been observed at all three of these sites and in much of the Piedmont that erosion and logging have destroyed the cultural integrity of many prehistoric sites. The artifacts are still present, but the original soil matrix and many features have been obliterated. However, it has been observed at both the Clinkscales and the Harper sites that the soil beneath the houses has been protected from the detrimental effects of erosion and soil disturbance by the actual presence of the houses themselves (see Chapter VI). Thus, the prehistoric components found during the house trench excavations appear also to have been preserved from total disruption. This may be an important observation to the study of upland sites in the Piedmont, the majority of which are found in disturbed contexts. If prehistoric sites are found on these "platforms" that are left from recently-created nineteenth century house sites, they may very well have been protected enough to retain much of their cultural integrity. Thus, the information potential of such sites may be higher than in any other upland context. It is strongly recommended that persons interested in upland prehistoric sites further explore the possibility of locating such sites within the context of recently-created historic house sites.

APPENDIX B

Persons Known to be Interred in the
Clinkscales, Harper, and McCalla
Family Cemeteries

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CLINKSCALES FAMILY CEMETERY (38AB287)

1. William Franklin Clinkscates
Born December 25, 1814
Died December 4, 1906
"We loved him yes we loved him
But angels loved him more
And they have _____ called him
to yonders [golden shore]."
2. Lucinda Clinkscates
Born April 24, 1824
Died December 19, 1906
"The golden [gate or door] opened
A gentle voice said come
And with farewell unspoken
She calmly [went] home."
3. Ezekiel Orr Clinkscates
Born June 23, 1861
Died November 23, 1943
4. Susie Miller Clinkscates
Born November 27, 1870
Died August 21, 1936
5. Josie Clinkscates
Born September 27, 1849
Died February 4, 1928
6. Joseph Ezekiel Clinkscates
Born September 11, 1913
Died September 5, 1932
7. Sallie Clinkscates Sullivan
Born April 15, 1857
Died June 5, 1937
8. Thomas Clinkscates
Born March 3, 1855
Died December 22, 1909
"He _____ loyal friend a _____
_____ and failed."
9. Joel, son of Thomas B. and M.S. Clinkscates
Born September 19, 1890
Died June 30, 1899
"Darling, we miss thee."
10. Infant, son of Thomas B. and M.S. Clinkscates
Born February 1, 1888
Died September 10, 1888

11. Julia Clinkscales Bell
Born July 31, 1859
Died August 5, 1899
"In loving Remembrance of our Mother."
12. May, daughter of J.H. and J.F. Bell
Born November 1, 1884
Died August 30, 1887
"Asleep in Jesus"

3 blank stones .

HARPER FAMILY CEMETERY (38AB238)

1. Lyndsey Harper
Born September 19, 1779, Albemarle County, Virginia
Died April 15, 1850
Age 70 years, 7 months
belonged to the Methodist Church [Ridge Church], and was
a Mason
2. Jenny [Jane] Harper
Born September 3, 1787
Died April 24, 1853
"She was born, lived and died within 300 yards of
her grave."
"Dear sacred marble, Thou dost mark the spot on earth
which contains the precious dust of our beloved mamma."
3. Children of James and Rebecca E. Harper
Infant daughter
Infant son
Infant son
4. "Dedicated to" Job W. Harper
Born October 19, 1808
Died March 3, 1817
5. A. Ferdinand D. Harper
Born January 6, 1830
Died June 6, 1841
"Drowned in the Savannah"
6. E. Weston Harper
Born May 4, 1819
Died September 25, 1850
7. Dr. James A. McGehee
Born December 3, 1809
Died November 9, 1853

8. Mrs. Sarah H. McGehee
Born December 9, 1812
Died February 24, 1901
9. Sallie McGehee Fisher
Born November 10, 1846
Died September 5, 1897
10. Jane Lindsey McGehee
Born February 27, 1839
Died February 8, 1854
11. Floride - another daughter of James and Rebecca
no dates
13. John Lyndsey Harper
Born January 1, 1852
Died August 26, 1874
14. Colonel Henry Harper, Mason
Born October 10, 1827
Died March 4, 1886
15. Hella [Elvira] B., wife of Henry H. Harper
Born September 15, 1833
Died August 30, 1891
"Home established 1851, broken up 1890"
16. Mattie G. Harper, daughter of Col. and Mrs. H.H. Harper
Born December 24, 1858
Died October 15, 1890
17. William Brownlee Harper
Born October 1, 1853
Died August 12, 1866
18. Henry Holcombe Harper, Junior
Born July 6, 1863
Died September 14, 1871
19. Little Tinie
Born October 29, 1861
Died May 12, 1862
20. Rosie Brownlee Harper
Born December 19, 1866
Died January 8, 1868

There are a number of unmarked stones in the west half of the cemetery.

McCALLA I CEMETERY (38AB78)

1. "In memory of
John W. McCalla
Born in Chester Dist. SC of Irish Parentage.
Died in Abbeville Dist, SC in 1838. He was an
Honest Man the Noblest Work of God."
2. "In memory of
Susan Tennent McCalla/Wife of John W. McCalla.
Born in Abbeville Dist, SC of English Parentage.
Died in Abbeville Dist, SC in 1840. An Intelligent
and Confiding Wife, Devoted Mother and Exemplary
Christian."
3. "In memory of
George R. McCalla
Born in Abbeville District of SC, November 30, 1821. Graduated
at the University of Georgia, August 4, 1841. Died in Abbeville
Co. SC March 5 . 1886. A man of extraordinary mental endowment,
well cultivated and emmenently [sic] practical. He was true to
his convictions, honest in his purposes, and faithful as a friend.
There is no death' the stars go down to rise upon some other shore,
and bright in heaven's jewelled crown They live forevere [sic]
more."

McCALLA II CEMETERY (38AB72)

1. Ezekiel P. Speed
Died November 14, 1881
Aged 67 years, 1 mo., 2 days
2. Julia A. Speed
Died December 19, 1863
Aged 32 yr., 5 mo., 20 days
3. Infant of E.P. and Julia A. Speed
4. Isaac H. McCalla, Mason
Born November 16, 1853
Died September 9, 1913
5. "Mother"
Raymond Elizabeth McCalla
Born October 3, 1859
Died December 21, 1915
6. Dr. L.O. McCalla
Born November 13, 1864
Died October 9, 1915

7. M.P. McCalla
1879 - 1933
8. May McCalla, Wife of George Gaines
1869 - 1939
9. Mary Jane Allen, Wife of George R. McCalla
1835 - 1913
10. Jennie McCalla, Wife of Joseph T. Speed
1859 - 1884
11. Joseph T. Speed
1855 - 1926
12. Infant of F.M. and J. Ella Carter
13. George M. Speed
Born March 6, 1880
Died July 31, 1911
"Dearest Papa, (F) (L) (T)"
14. "Sacred to the memory of George Robertson McCalla, Jr.
Born January 17, 1871
Died November 9, 1897
...He resigned himself into the hands of his God..."

APPENDIX C

Project Scope of Work

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ARCHEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT
HISTORIC HOUSE SITES
RICHARD B. RUSSELL DAM AND LAKE, SOUTH CAROLINA

SCOPE OF WORK

I. Introduction

Interagency Archeological Services-Atlanta, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service is contracting for excavation at four historic house sites. Two of these houses were burned: the archeological preservation of the architectural elements and their interpretation will be examined for these structures. For the other houses the spatial arrangement of the yards, outbuildings, etc., will be examined and tested.

This work will be conducted in compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), Executive Order 11593 and the Archeological and Historic Preservation Act (Public Law 93-291). Estimated cost for this project is \$74,000.00.

II. Location

The Richard B. Russell Multiple Resource Area is located on the upper Savannah River between the backwaters of the Clark Hill Lake to the south, and Hartwell Dam to the north, in Abbeville and Anderson Counties, South Carolina, and Elbert and Hart Counties, Georgia. Along this 28-mile section of the Savannah River, 26,650 acres are included in the 3 to 5-mile width of the area. In addition, the lands bordering a 12-mile portion of the Rocky River in South Carolina and a 9-mile portion of Beaverdam Creek in Georgia, are included as well as the lower reaches and the mouths of Allen, Bond, and Crooked Creeks in South Carolina, and Vann, Coldwater, Pickens, and Cedar Creeks in Georgia. The total area of the Federal undertaking within the Richard B. Russell Multiple Resource Area is approximately 59,000 acres.

III. Construction Project Description

Public Law 89-789, enacted by the 89th Congress on November 7, 1966, authorized the comprehensive development of the Trotters Shoals Dam and Reservoir (now known as the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake) substantially in accordance with the recommendations in Senate Document No. 52 - 89th Congress. Section 4 of the Flood Control Act of 1944, as amended in 1946, 1952, and 1962, provides basic legislation for the overall plan of development and utilization of the Savannah River for the purposes of hydroelectric power, flood control, general recreation and fish and wildlife.

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The Richard B. Russell damsite is located on the Savannah River in Elbert County, Georgia, and Abbeville County, South Carolina, at river mile 275.1 above the Atlantic Ocean, approximately 63 miles northwest of Augusta, Georgia, 37.4 miles northwest of Clark Hill Dam and 29.9 miles southeast of the Hartwell Dam. The project area lies along a 29-mile axis beginning at the damsite and ending at the Hartwell Dam.

The joint policies of the Department of the Interior and the Department of the Army, in accordance with the law established by Congress for acquisition of lands for Federal projects, require that fee title be acquired to all lands below an elevation designated as a reasonable free-board for wave action, erosion, etc., or a minimum of 300 feet measured horizontally from the top of the power pool, whichever is greater. For the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake Project elevation 475 mean sea level is the top of the power pool, elevation 480 msl is the top of the flood control pool, and elevation 485 msl is the reasonable freeboard. The final acquisition limits established, based upon the above criteria, will consist of tangents aligned with and as parallel as possible to the guide acquisition contour. In addition to the above mentioned lands, additional land will be required for construction, public access to the lake, project operations, and recreation. These are all included in the Richard B. Russell Multiple Resource Area.

IV. Description of Sites

The Harper site (AB 21) was an early plantation in the project area. Structures are indicated there in Mills Atlas of 1820. The house burned in the early 1960's. A number of standing structures exist on the site.

The William Clinkscale site (AB 287) may have been constructed in the 1830's. William Clinkscale lived from 1814 to 1906. The house burned within the last few years but was photographed prior to its destruction (Exhibit 1). Some outbuildings are still standing on the property.

The Gilbert Gray site. According to an informant Gilbert Gray, a black man, built the house. The dates of construction and abandonment have not been obtained. There are no standing structures there and the house appears to have either been salvaged or collapsed and rotted. The last occupant of the site was Fletcher Bolton.

The McCalla site (AB 78) was the home of John McCalla. No structures are standing. A family cemetery is associated. A single large monument has an inscription to Sarah Tennant McCalla, wife of John. She died in 1840. Another side of the monument has George McCalla, presumably a son, who was born in 1821 and died in 1886. He attended the University of Georgia. There is also a slave cemetery associated with the site.

V. Description of Services to be performed

A. Literature Search

In order to provide background information on the properties and the occupants of the structures, a literature search should be undertaken prior to excavation of the sites. Both the Harper and McCalla families were prominent in the area and a good deal of information exists concerning them. A Mrs. Harper (whose address will be supplied to the Contractor) has photographs of the Harper place. It may be possible to locate information about George McCalla from the University of Georgia records. There were a number of Clinkscales in the area; Ezekiel Clinkscale's home is under investigation in another project. Additional information about the Gilbert Gray property can be obtained from an informant (whose name will be supplied to the Contractor).

The efforts of the literature search should be confined to the properties under investigation and should be directed towards records of land holdings, transfers of property, construction of buildings, usages of land and structures and the occupations of the inhabitants.

Suggested sources are: 1865, 1866 Abbeville County Tax Returns; 1850 United States Agricultural Survey for Abbeville County; County deed books and plat maps.

B. Excavation

The excavations planned at these four sites should provide sufficient information about the sites to constitute adequate mitigative work.

1. Harper and Clinkscale sites: Burned structures. The Harper site has been mapped and the standing structures drawn by HABS. Site work will be concentrated entirely on the burned residential structure. The Clinkscale property has standing structures and probably also collapsed ones. This property has not been mapped and mapping will therefore be one part of this project. The size and position of outbuildings, wells, fences, roads and other features should be drawn on a base map to scale. Drawings and elevations of the appearance of the standing structures will not be part of this project. Other than mapping, no work will be done on any of the structures except for the burned residence. As architectural studies have been done of the outbuildings and since the spatial arrangements of the

sites have been or will be mapped and the function of these structures determined, no archeological work is necessary on the outbuildings at the burned structures.

a. Research Design

Burned structures have long been considered highly valuable archeological sources of information. Construction details, usage, etc. have been inferred from remains. The Harper and Clinkscale structures given an excellent opportunity for testing many assumptions about burned structures, the architectural remains and their relationship to the original structure. As photographs exist for both places, the archeological remains can be compared with these.

The research design should include specific questions concerning burned structures which can be tested from these structures and which could be applicable in other similar situations. For example, what is the distribution of glass fragments in relation to windows; can functional assignments be made to rooms based on artifacts; what types of architectural elements remain; what could be inferred from these if reconstruction were to take place without having access to photographs? Extensive testing of these and other well formulated research questions should be carried out. These questions must be explicitly stated in the proposal. In the discussion of these questions it must be defined how the excavation program may or may not be able to answer these questions. The expectations should be explicit and realistic.

b. Artifact collection

Since these structures were burned, not salvaged, there is the potential for large quantities of artifacts. The Clinkscale residence was occupied until very recently and the Harper house into the 1960's. Because the quantity of material could be so large and at the same time much of it providing little data for analysis, certain restrictions are suggested on the collection of materials. Roofing materials, particularly tin, should be noted, drawn, photographed or otherwise recorded as needed for research, but only a minimal sample retained. Pipe, wiring, electrical fixtures and other 20th century utility additions to the structures should not be collected. This also includes bathroom fixtures,

sinks, stoves, refrigerators, washing machines, furnace parts and other extraneous materials not strictly relevant to archeological remains of 19th century dwellings. Recent trash should also be avoided; tin cans, pop bottles, beer cans, styrofoam and other identifiable modern debris should not be collected. Nails should be collected, counted, weighed and analyzed. Only a representative sample should then be kept. Quantities of window glass may also be treated in a similar manner. It should be kept in mind that the focus of the project is on what type of archeological remains will be found in a burned 19th century structure, not 20th century trash disposal patterns.

2. Gilbert Gray site. The site has a structure defined by foundation supports and a chimney fall. About 10-15 cm of soil is above the clay within and around the structural remains. A fence line probably defines one edge of the yard and behind the structure on a ridge are stumps from a row of at least six very large cedars that may have formed the back line of the yard. Other structures may have existed within the site. Two wells are present; one on the same side of the road as the structures has been filled in. The other across the road is unfilled, open, and the sides are undercut. This well should be avoided. The initial effort at this site should be to locate all structures, fence rows and other features and to map these to scale. Testing should be carried out in the main structure, in the yard and in the other structures that are defined. Augering should be done in the filled-in well to determine if it was used for trash disposal. Excavation of the well should not be undertaken.

a. Research design

The research questions should be directed toward definition of the spatial organization of the site and of artifact patterns associated with it. These questions should be carefully formulated and realistic for the site. Vague general theoretical questions should be avoided and the questions defined should be such that if answered the site can be used to compare with other sites studied in the area for site and artifact patterning and use.

3. John McCalla site. The site of the main structure is near the present road. The remains of one other structure was located but probably more exist. A short distance away a side road leads to the slave cemetery. It is likely structures were along this road also. The area should be thoroughly examined for structural remains, wells, etc. and these should be mapped to scale. The details of the cemeteries do not need to be mapped but their location relative to the complex should be given.

- a. Research design

The research questions formulated for this site will be similar to those for the Gilbert Gray site. However, since McCalla was a larger and more complex site, the research questions should reflect this increased complexity. This site will also be compared with other plantations being examined in the area and the research questions and analysis should allow for these comparisons.

4. The testing program should be described in detail. This shall include:

- a. sampling strategy for burned structures
- b. sampling strategy for other structures
- c. proposed method of placement of test units
- d. size of test units
- e. method(s) of excavation
- f. estimated minimum number of excavation units to be excavated at each site

C. Other Proposal Elements

1. The proposal also should include a discussion of laboratory processing of the artifacts and special samples. Appropriate conservation techniques should be used on the recovered metal objects and the contractor's approach to these items should be included in the proposal. Analytical procedures will be sufficiently detailed to identify makers marks and artifact types in order to assess appropriate temporal contexts and origins. Special care should be taken to insure that re-constructible vessels are cross-mended to more adequately assess depositional patterns and subsequent disturbance.

The role of laboratory personnel and the field laboratory should be specified. If crew time will be used for lab work on rainy days, it should be so stated.

2. A detailed schedule indicating the dates for conducting the various aspects of the testing program must accompany the proposal.

D. Budget

1. Tabulated Budget

The estimated budget should be separated into the different research tasks involved (like field and laboratory work). The amount of time to be devoted to each research task should be clearly indicated. Salaries for each employee category should be listed showing the pay rate, the number of people in the category and the duration of their employment. Salary levels may not exceed the current base salary pay rate for that individual when he/she is not employed on the research project. Fringe benefits and overhead charges should be clearly identified.

Other expenditures like expendable supplies and photographic materials should be tied directly to dollar amounts. Rental charges, computer costs and mileage estimates should state the time period involved and the base rate for each item. When per diem is requested, the costs per person per day should be reflected. The individuals to whom the per diem will be paid should be clearly identified.

2. Budget Justification

Since the budget will be evaluated independently of the technical proposal, an attachment will be prepared which justifies the proposed expenditures in the light of the research tasks to be performed.

Considerable care should be exercised in this justification to allow an opportunity to assess the reasonableness of the proposed charges. The tasks and duties of each employee category should be outlined in the justification. Sufficient detail should be given to allow for assessment of designated roles against the time allowed for that category.

3. Budget Submittal

The budget will be placed in an inner sealed envelope separate from the proposal and designated "Budget" on the lower left-hand corner. The outer envelope will bear this label in the lower left-hand corner:

Excavation at Historic House Sites

The total budget shall not exceed \$74,000.00.

- E. Five copies of the technical proposal are to be submitted. The contract may be awarded without discussion of the proposals received. Therefore, proposals should be submitted initially on the most favorable terms from a technical and cost standpoint.

VI. Contractor Obligations for Project Implementation

- A. Where rights-of-entry have not been obtained by the Government, the Contractor will be required to obtain from landowners the necessary rights-of-entry for making any investigations required under this contract. The Contractor will assume all responsibility for and take all precautions to prevent damage to property entered.
- B. When cultural resources studies are possibly related to a specific group of people whose descendants are still living in the general area, they should be informed of the studies and consulted, especially where interpretive developments are being considered.
- C. Human skeletal remains gathered by this program of study will not be placed on public display.
- D. The cultural resources study will be conducted in accordance with the Identification and Administration of Cultural Resources, ER 1105-2-460 (provided by the government), and Recovery of Scientific, Historic and Archeological Data: Methods, Standards and Report Requirements (Exhibit 2).
- E. The Contractor will develop a safety program. This plan will be submitted to the Contracting Officer for approval prior to the initiation of any fieldwork. The Contractor will also coordinate activities like safety and access with the Resident Engineer in accordance with the Corps of Engineers Safety Manual (EM 385-1-1) as provided by the Government.
- F. The Principal Investigator will be responsible for the validity of the material presented in the report of findings. In the event of controversy or court challenge, the Principal Investigator may be called upon to testify on behalf of the Government in support of his findings at Government expense.

- G. The Contractor will be required to submit 5 copies of detailed monthly progress reports to Interagency Archeological Services-Atlanta. These reports will contain an accurate up-to-date account of all work conducted during the preceding month, including field and laboratory work. Two copies of two different 8" x 10" black and white photographs illustrating aspects of the investigations will be submitted with each monthly report.
- H. Arrangements for the permanent curation of artifacts, associated materials, and other data gathered and collected as a direct result of this contractual effort will be negotiated by the Contractor, Savannah District Corps of Engineers, Interagency Archeological Services-Atlanta guidelines enclosed as Exhibit 3.

VII. Contract Requirements

A. Timetable for Work Completion

The completed proposal must be received by Interagency Archeological Services-Atlanta no later than 29 August 1980. The contract will be awarded on or about 29 September 1981. Fieldwork must begin 15 October 1980.

B. Payments

The contract will be cost reimbursable. Partial payments may be made up to seventy-five percent (75%) of the total amount allotted, based on percentage of completion of the investigation as reflected in progress reports and confirmed by project monitoring by the Government. All or any part of any partial payment requested may be withheld if monthly progress reports are not submitted as required. All requests for payment must be accompanied by a detailed invoice with supporting accounting documentation. At least one original and three copies must be received by this office. The project name, contract number, project location, and the name of the contracting institution or firm must be prominently placed on the invoice. The final invoice must be marked "final." The release of claims (supplied by Interagency Archeological Services-Atlanta) form must accompany the final invoice.

The items in the invoice should appear in the same order as they appear in the contract budget (i.e. if the budget divides travel into car rental, mileage, and per diem, the invoice should be organized using these categories). The invoice should include all billings for a set calendar period (i.e. two weeks, one month). The supporting documentation shall consist of:

1. Personnel - time sheets.
2. Equipment purchased or rented - (receipts for gasoline, lodging, rental cars, machinery rentals and expendable supplies like bags, boxes, string, pens, pencils, paper, etc.)
 - a. Copies of receipts will be sent in order to document the invoice billing.
 - b. Each receipt will be labeled with the budget category.
 - c. Odometer readings will be reported when the rate per mile is being charged. Gasoline receipts are not necessary in this case.
 - d. Phone calls pertinent to the project will be accepted. Phone calls not from the field to the home office and visa versa must be documented.

Twenty-five percent (25%) of the contract amount will be withheld until receipt and acceptance of the final report.

C. Reports

1. Five copies of monthly technical and financial reports will be submitted by the Contractor. These should describe the work accomplished in the previous month and include two copies of two different 8" x 10" black and white photographs showing aspects of the work.
2. A draft final report should be submitted by 30 July 1981. Five copies should be submitted for review and any requested changes will be identified within 45 days. Additional drafts may be required. Seventy-five (75) copies and a camera ready manuscript of the final report will be provided by the Contractor. The date for submission of the final report will be negotiated. Funds for the preparation of the final report will be included in the proposed budget.
3. The drafts of the interim and final reports shall be suitable for publication and be prepared in a format reflecting contemporary organizational and illustrative standards of the current professional archeological, architectural and historical journals. The report must be typed single-spaced on good quality 8" x 11" bond paper with a 1½" binding margin on the left side, ½" on the right and 1" at the top and bottom, using a type style like 12-point type. All pages must be numbered.

The report, through the Contracting Officer, will be maintained on microfiche by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS) and will be available to interested persons from NTIS. Each report will include Form NTIS-272 (provided the Contractor by the Contracting Officer) as its first page. Blocks 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17b, and 21 of Form NTIS-272 will be completed by the Contractor.

If the Contractor expects to publish all or part of the final report, he must provide the contracting office with a letter specifying the expected date, place, and name of publication. This letter must be submitted with the final report. In addition, all reports must contain the following:

- a. If a report has been authored by someone other than the contract Principal Investigator, the cover and title page of the publishable report must bear the inscription Prepared Under the Supervision of (Name), Principal Investigator. The Principal Investigator is required to sign the original copy of the report.
- b. If a report has been authored by someone other than the contract Principal Investigator, the Principal Investigator must at least prepare a foreword describing the overall research context of the report, the significance of the work and any other related background circumstances relating to the manner in which the work was undertaken.
- c. The title page of the report must bear an appropriate inscription indicating the source of funds used to conduct the reported work.
- d. An abstract suitable for publication in an abstract journal must be prepared. This should consist of a brief, quotable summary useful for informing the technically oriented professional public of what the author considers to be the contributions of the investigation to knowledge. A popular abstract also will be prepared.

D. Personnel Standards

Agencies, institutions, corporations, associations or individuals will be considered qualified when they meet the minimum criteria given below. As part of the supplemental documentation, a contract proposal must include vitae for the Principal Investigator, main

supervisory personnel and consultants for the research. In the event that support personnel have not been identified at the time of the contract proposal, vitae on supervisory positions may be omitted until such time as they are identified with the provision that those to be selected meet the minimum professional standards stated below and their retention is subject to approval by the Contracting Officer. Any change of these employees during the performance of this contract must have prior approval of the Contracting Officer.

1. Principal Investigator (PI). Persons in charge of the research investigation, in addition to meeting the appropriate standards for an archeologist defined in the proposed 36 CFR 66 (Exhibit 2) must have at least a masters degree and experience in project formulation, execution and technical monograph reporting. Suitable professional references may be required to obtain estimates regarding the adequacy of prior work. If prior projects were of a sort not ordinarily resulting in a publishable report, a narrative should be included detailing the proposed project director's previous experience along with references suitable to obtain opinions regarding the adequacy of this earlier work.
2. Archeologist. The minimum formal qualifications for individuals practicing archeology as a profession are a B.A. or B.Sc. from an accredited college or university followed by 2 years of graduate study with concentration in anthropology and specialization in archeology during one of these programs, and at least two summer field schools or their equivalent under the supervision of archeologists of recognized competence; a Master's thesis or its equivalent in research and publication is highly recommended, as is the Ph.D degree. Individuals lacking such formal qualifications may present evidence of a publication record and references from archeologists who do meet these qualifications. The archeologist responsible for the full-time field direction should have experience in historic sites investigation in a supervisory capacity.
3. Historian. The minimal professional qualifications for individual hired as a historian are a B.A. degree in American History, Anthropology or a closely related field from an accredited college or university followed by 2 years of graduate study with a concentration preferably in historical archaeology. A Master's thesis or its equivalent in research and publication is highly recommended as is the Ph.D degree.

The individual hired in the historian position must have demonstrated experience in conducting research and relating the data to archeological problems. Individuals lacking formal qualifications may present evidence of a publication record and references from individuals who do meet these qualifications.

4. Consultants. Personnel hired or subcontracted for their special knowledge and expertise must carry academic and experiential qualifications in their own fields of competence. These qualifications will be documented by vitae attachments to the proposal. If the consultant has not been retained at the time of contract negotiations, qualifications may be omitted until such time as he is identified, subject to approval of the Contracting Officer.

E. Any institution, organization, etc., obtaining this contract, and sponsoring the Principal Investigator meeting the previously given requirements, must also provide, or demonstrate access to the following capabilities:

1. Adequate field and laboratory equipment necessary to conduct whatever operations are defined in the Scope of Work.
2. Adequate facilities necessary for proper treatment, analysis and storage of specimens and records likely to be obtained under this contract, including facilities sufficient to properly preserve or stabilize specimens for any subsequent specialized analysis, as well as a publicly accessible, permanent, safe repository for objects and data collected with proper curatorial services. Material should always be retained and maintained in the state in which they were recovered. The Principal Investigator will make provisions for transferring the material at the conclusion of the project. Some materials may be required by the Corps of Engineers for interpretive displays in project offices, visitor centers, or other appropriate areas for the information and benefit of the public.

F. Curation Standards

The Contractor shall accept the following Curation Standards:

1. All specimens and photographs, maps, written documentation other data acquired from property under the jurisdiction or control of a Federal agency, under provisions of this contract, are the property of the U.S. Government and must be maintained for the public benefit.

2. Other than specimens, data recovered from lands not under the control or jurisdiction of a Federal agency are the property of the Federal Government, and likewise are to be maintained for the public benefit.
3. All specimens and data will be monitored at regular intervals to detect conditions leading to damage or loss. Problems such as broken bags, insect damage, faded accession numbers, etc. will be corrected promptly.

If the institution ceases to exist, disposition of the specimens and data will be determined by agreement between the institution and the Contracting Officer.

G. General Provisions

Attached to this Scope of Work (Exhibit 4) are general provisions dealing with: (1) equal opportunity hiring, (2) minimum wage requirements, (3) health conditions for employees, (4) overhead limitations and excessive charge levels, (5) hiring of the handicapped, (6) use of convict labor, (7) on-site Federal agency inspection, and (8) Viet Nam veterans' preference.

H. Endorsements

Proposals submitted for consideration must bear the endorsement, by means of signatures, of the proposed Principal Investigator and of an official representative of the organization submitting the proposal.

I. Evaluation Criteria

Proposals will be evaluated by Interagency Archeological Services-Atlanta staff members according to the following criteria and weight values:

1. Comprehension of research problem(s) and attendant method(s) with statement of elaboration (50 percent).
 - a. Is attention given to the research questions proposed?
 - b. Are further research questions developed?
 - c. Are the methods proposed appropriate to the program?
 - d. Is archival research and its role described?
 - e. Is the integration of the archival and archeological research described?

2. Personnel (vitae) (15 percent).
 - a. Are personnel experienced in historical archeological work?
 - b. Is the archival research to be done by experienced researcher(s)?
 - c. Are consultants available for specialized work, if this is proposed?
3. Organizational (individual, institutional or corporate past record and capability to conduct the research) (15 percent).
 - a. Have past projects been accomplished on schedule?
 - b. Have monthly and final reports been received as scheduled?
 - c. Have reports been adequate?
 - d. Are the facilities and resources adequate for the project?
4. Feasibility of project scheduling (10 percent).
 - a. Is the scheduling realistic?
 - b. Is the duration of each field and laboratory operation given for the project?
 - c. Is the division of personnel time realistic?
5. Budget (10 percent).
 - a. Is the budget sufficiently detailed?
 - b. Are the personnel rate, mileage, rentals, etc. clearly identified?
 - c. Is it reasonable and realistic in amount designated for specific categories?

When deemed appropriate by Interagency Archeological Services-Atlanta, neutral outside (non-Federal agency) professional archeologists may be utilized as review consultants. However, in all cases, the final decision as to the successful offeror will be made by the Contracting Officer.

Questions concerning this Scope of Work should be addressed to
Dr. Victor Carbone at (404) 221-5180.

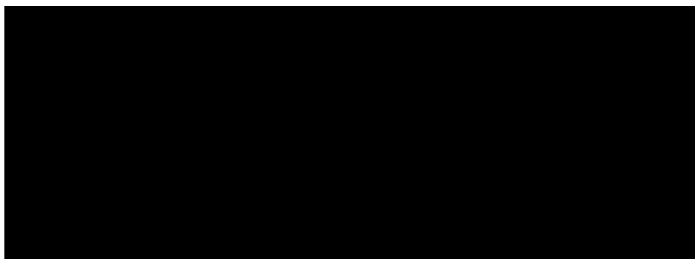
Interagency Archeological Services-Atlanta
Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service
Richard B. Russell Federal Building
75 Spring Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

APPENDIX D

Vitae of the Principal Investigator

VITA

PII Redacted



EDUCATION

Indiana University 1971-1975

A.B. degree with high honor granted June, 1975, in anthropology

Michigan State University 1975-1978

M.A. degree granted June, 1978, in anthropology

PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

Ohio Archaeological Council
Society for American Archaeology
Society for Historical Archaeology
Society for Industrial Archaeology

OFFICES HELD

Student member, Indiana University Committee on Historic Preservation,
1974-75

Board of Directors, Indiana Junior Historical Society Alumni Association,
1975-1980

President, Anthropology Graduate Student Association, Michigan State
University, 1976-1977

HONORS RECEIVED

Alpha Lambda Delta, 1972

Hoosier Scholar, 1971-1974

Metz Scholar, Indiana University, 1972-1974

Phi Beta Kappa, 1974

AREAS OF INTEREST

Geographical - Eastern North America, especially the Midwest and the
Southeast; Pacific Northwest; Western Europe

Methodological - Development of interdisciplinary models for use in
the analysis of space utilization, architectural

traditions, and settlement patterns; historic ceramic analysis and dating; quantitative techniques

Substantive - Archaeology, Method and Theory; Historical Archaeology; Archaeology of North America; Post-Medieval Archaeology; Folklore; Folk Architecture; Cultural Geography; Historical Geography; Cultural Resource Management; Public Archaeology

PAPERS PRESENTED

- 1981 "Cincinnati as an Historic Archaeological Site." Central Ohio Valley Archaeological Society, February 12, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- 1979 "The Tombigbee Multi-Resource District: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Historic Sites Data." 12th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, January 3-6, Nashville, Tennessee.
- 1978 "The Hudson's Bay Company in the Columbia Department: A Space Utilization Study." 11th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, January 4-7, San Antonio, Texas.
- 1975 "Excavations at Two Historic Sites in Indiana." Indiana History Conference, November 7-8, Indianapolis, Indiana.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

May 1982 to present	Field Director, Cultural Resource Management Program, Department of Anthropology, Northern Kentucky University, Highland Heights, Kentucky.
January 1982 to December 1982	Instructor, Department of Anthropology, Northern Kentucky University, Highland Heights.
January 1980 to May 1982	Archaeologist, WAPORA, Inc., Cincinnati, Ohio.
September 1979	Architectural Inventory of the Big River, Missouri; in conjunction with the U.S. Corps of Engineers, St. Louis District.
June 1979	Historic Ceramics Analysis, Greenwood County Archaeological Survey, Greenwood County, South Carolina; Consultant to Mr. Michael Rodeffer.
May 1979	Historic Ceramics Analysis, East Aberdeen Excavations, Aberdeen, Mississippi; Consultant to Ms. B. Lea Baker and Dr. Janet Rafferty, Mississippi State University.
September 1978	Co-investigator, Test Excavations at the Pottery Waste Dump, Greenwood County, South Carolina, with Dr. Stephanie H. Rodeffer, Mr. Michael Rodeffer, and Ms. Jana Kellar.

July 1978 to August 1978	Co-investigator, Sproull House Site, Greenwood County, South Carolina, with Ms. Jana Kellar.
July 1978 to December 1979	Student Intern, Interagency Archaeological Services-Atlanta, U.S. Department of the Interior, Dr. Bennie C. Keel (supervisor).
August 1976 to June 1978	Graduate Research Assistant, Michigan State University, Department of Anthropology; Fort Vancouver Research Project, National Park Service Contract Number CX0001-6-0008, Dr. Charles E. Cleland (supervisor).
June to August 1976	Assistant Field Director, Sault Ste. Marie Archaeological Project, Fort Brady Site, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, Mr. W. Lee Minnerly (director).
March to June 1976	Graduate Teaching Assistant, Michigan State University, Department of Anthropology, Dr. Gair Tourtellot (supervisor).
November 1975	Survey Assistant, Baraga Indian Reservation, Baraga County, Michigan, Mr. Earl Prah1 (director).
September 1975 to May 1976	Laboratory Assistant, Cataloguing and Analysis of Fort Ouiatenon Artifacts, Ms. Judith Tordoff (supervisor).
August 1975	Field Director, Cammack's Mill Site, Wayne County, Indiana; in conjunction with the Indiana Junior Historical Society.
May to August 1975	Field Director, Brouillette House Excavations, Vincennes, Indiana.
March 1975	Survey Assistant, Clark Maritime Project, Jeffersonville, Indiana, Ms. Cheryl Munson (director).
August 1974 to May 1975	Laboratory Assistant, Sonar and Manual Separation of Flotation Samples, Prairie Creek Prehistoric Site Excavations, Dr. Patrick J. Munson (supervisor).
June to July 1974	Field Assistant, Niemoeller-Mace Woodland Site, Columbus, Indiana, Mr. Curtis Tomak (director).
May to June 1974	Field School, Prairie Creek Prehistoric Site, Washington, Indiana, Dr. Patrick J. Munson (supervisor).
August 1973	Workshop Director, Indiana Junior Historical Society, Sol Meredith Farm, Cambridge City, Indiana.
July 1969	Field School, Fort Ouiatenon, West Lafayette, Indiana, Dr. James H. Kellar (director).

PUBLICATIONS AND REPORTS

- Gray, M. 1974. The Pennville Project. Indiana History Bulletin.
- Gray, M. 1975. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Brouillette House, Vincennes, Indiana. Glenn D. Black Laboratory of Archaeology, Indiana University, Bloomington.
- Gray, M. 1979. Structural Aspects of Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860: An Historical-Archaeological Interpretation. Prepared for the National Park Service.
- Gray, M. 1980. Archaeological Survey and Testing, Moline Local Flood Protection Project, Rock Island County, Illinois. WAPORA, Inc., Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Gray, M. 1980. Archaeological Survey and Testing, Bettendorf Local Flood Protection Project, Scott County, Iowa. WAPORA, Inc., Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Gray, M., G.M. Watson, and W.K. Pape. 1980. Cultural Resources Survey of 24 Miles of Proposed Pipeline Right-of-Way, Washington County, Ohio. WAPORA, Inc., Cincinnati, Ohio.
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- Gray, M. 1982. Cultural Resources Testing (Phase II Investigations) at the Ratcliff Site (15Be274), Boone County, Kentucky. Northern Kentucky University, Highland Heights.
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